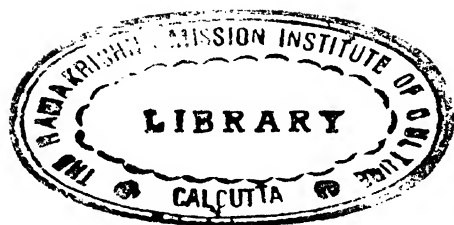


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WHITE ATTIC LEKYTHUS  
RED FIGURED LEKYTHUS

# ANCIENT GREECE

A SKETCH OF ITS ART LITERATURE & PHILOSOPHY VIEWED IN CONNEXION WITH ITS EXTERNAL HISTORY FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE AGE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

BY H. B. COTTERILL M.A.

Translator of the "Odyssey" Editor of "Selections from the Inferno" Goethe's "Iphigenie" Milton's "Areopagitica" Virgil's "Aeneid" I and VI etc.



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## PREFACE

WHEN the attempt is made in a book of this size to give a continuous account of the external history of Greece, and into this framework to fit a number of sketches descriptive of its art, literature, and philosophy, as well as other matters, it is of course necessary to omit many details and to rely on whatever skill one may happen to possess in selection and combination. In regard to antiquities and literature, I have drawn attention chiefly to what is extant and of general interest, and have trusted to description, illustration, and quotation rather than to disquisition and criticism. The Sections appended to each chapter treat subjects that are closely connected with the period covered by the chapter. Any of these Sections can be omitted without seriously interrupting continuity. Temples, Dress, Coins, and Vases have been relegated to Notes at the end of the volume, seeing that they are not specially connected with any one period.

The letters B.C. (but not A.D.) have been generally omitted, as unnecessary in a book on Ancient Greece.

To name in full all the books that one has to use in such work is unnecessary, but, since space did not always allow of exact reference on occasions when I annexed a fact or a sentiment, it is right that I should here acknowledge my obligations to the following modern writers: Baikie, Bérard, Bergk, Bernoulli, Buchholz, Burrows, Bury, Busolt, Butcher, Archer Butler, Chamberlain (*Grundlagen*), Christ, Dawkins, Deussen, Diehl, Donaldson, Dörpfeld, Dussaud, Sir A. J. Evans, Frazer (*Pausanias*), Furtwängler, E. Gardner, P. Gardner, Gomperz, Grote, Hall, Miss Harrison, Head, Hill, Hogarth, Holm,



## PREFACE

Hommel (*Chronology*), A. Lang, W. Leaf, Löwy, Mahaffy, Meltzer, Mover, Mosso, A. S. Murray, G. Murray, F. A. Paley, Petrie, Sir H. Rawlinson, Canon Rawlinson, Ridgeway, Ritter and Preller, Schlegel, Schliemann, Schuchhardt, A. H. Smith, G. Smith, W. Smith, Tsountas, H. B. Walters, Wilamowitz, Wood (*Ephesus*), Zeller, Zimmermann.

Also, in regard to the illustrations, my thanks are due to Mr. Hasluck, of the British School in Athens, and (especially in regard to vases) to Professor H. Thiersch, of Freiburg, as well as to many others whose names are mentioned in the List. Some of the illustrations supplied by F. Bruckmann and Co. are from their fine series of *Greek and Roman Portraits*; others are from Bernoulli's *Griechische Ikonographie*. The autotypes of coins in Plates I-VI are reproductions which I was permitted by the courtesy of the Director of the British Museum to make from Mr. Head's official *Guide to the Coins of the Ancients*.

In quoting Herodotus I have, with the permission of Mr. John Murray, frequently made use of Canon Rawlinson's version, and in translating Thucydides I sometimes accepted the guidance of Dale. For the compilation of the index I am indebted to Mr. C. C. Wood.

H. B. C.

FREIBURG IM BREISGAU,

March 1913

## NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION

IN this edition I have corrected misprints and other such inaccuracies and have made a few additions. As two reviewers have expressed their surprise that although Pythagoras and Plato are given a considerable number of pages, Aristotle is dismissed in a few lines, it seems advisable to point out again, what is plainly intimated on pp. 434 and 442, that the main subject of the book does not extend beyond the year 334, and that Aristotle, whose chief works were written after 335, is only mentioned in a slight forecast of a period which will be fully treated in another volume.

H. B. C.

VIAREGGIO,

September 1915

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### II. LATE-MYCENAEAN VASES (c. 1200)

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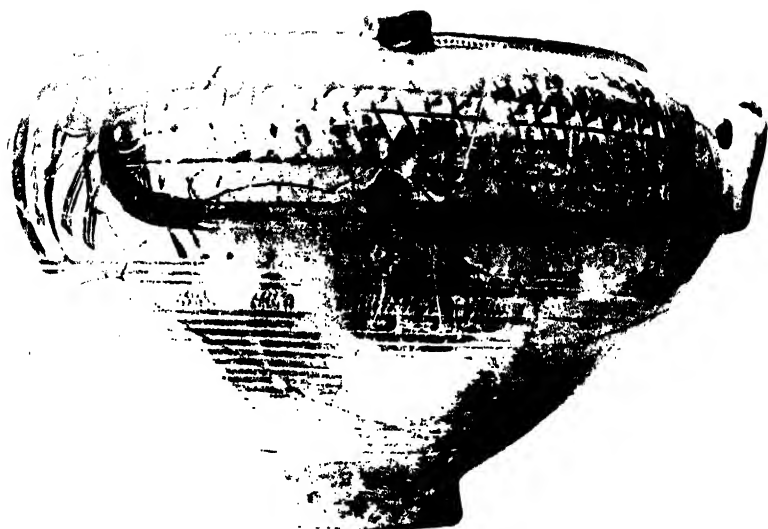
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34. DUPYLON VASE  
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## THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

Peloponnesian War. In spite of all the sins of omission and commission laid to his charge by the modern historical critic—his inaccuracies, his credulity, his reverence for prophecies and oracles, his belief in the efficacy of images and prayer and sacrifice, his tendency to seek for supernatural causes, his partiality, and so on<sup>1</sup>—this “naive, uncritical, entrancing story-teller” possesses gifts that many a more scientific chronicler might well envy. By his keen powers of observation he has collected an immense amount of interesting and curious information in regard not merely to events but also to customs and character and cities and countries, and much else, and, what is of even greater importance, his human sympathies allow him an insight into the true causes of things which Thucydides, with all his skilful analysis of secondary and superficial motives, does not possess. The great agent in shaping outward circumstances, as Professor Butcher says, is the human will. But human will is profoundly influenced by beliefs and feelings that lie very deep in human nature, and into these depths mere critical acumen has no such insight as that which is sometimes vouchsafed to the ‘naive’ and sympathetic spirit.

### PHILOSOPHERS OF THE PERIOD

The Eleatic philosophers Parmenides and Zeno have already been mentioned as followers of Xenophanes (p. 208), and it has been shown how his doctrine of the one eternal and immutable Reality, the source and cause of all the natural universe, degenerated in course of time into a barren denial of the existence (even the temporal, practical existence) of sensible things, and of the possibility of motion. With Parmenides the sublime philosophy of his master still retained much of its elevation and aroused the reverent admiration of Socrates and of Plato, who speaks of his “wondrous depth.” As an old man Parmenides is said to have visited Athens

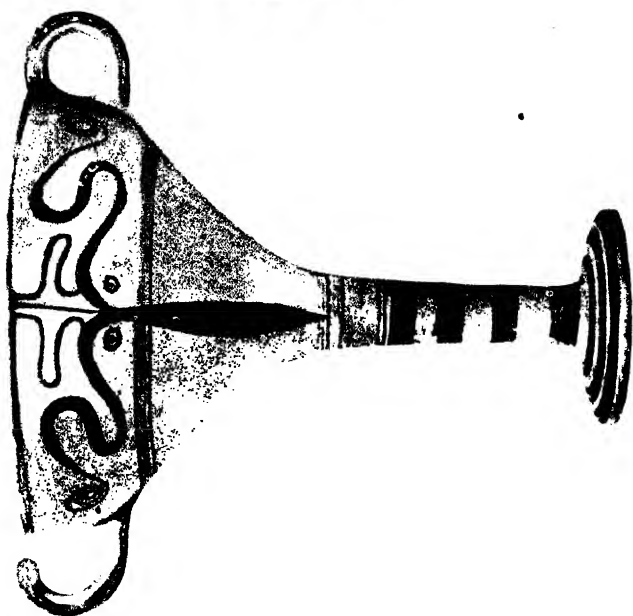
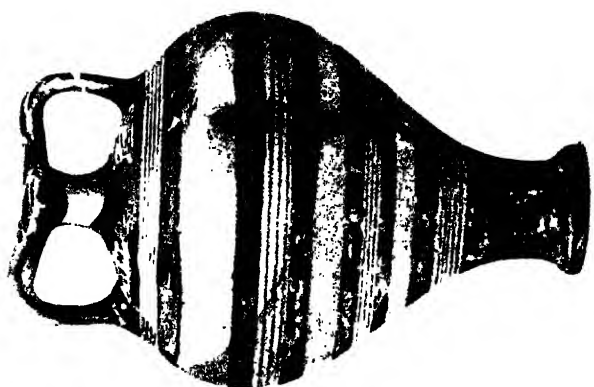
<sup>1</sup> Sometimes he ventures to express a doubt (e.g. “or perhaps the wind ceased of itself”), or prays gods and heroes to forgive his scepticism. He was very far removed from a credulous fool or a bigot. “My duty,” he says, “is to report all that is said, but I am not obliged to believe it all.”

## ANCIENT GREECE

(c. 448), and Plato describes (possibly invents) a very interesting interview in which Socrates, then quite a young man, imparts to him his newly conceived Ideal theory and is encouraged by him to develop and apply it more boldly. Indeed, it was the Eleatic belief in the one immaterial Reality—involving the denial of the absolute reality of sensible objects—that was the foundation of the Socratic (or Platonic) belief in the divine Will as the one true cause of all things. This denial of the real existence of natural objects has ever encountered the ridicule of the uninitiated, but, “paradoxical as it may appear, this insistence on the unreality of the sensible world is the only way in which worth and meaning can be given to it.” Misunderstood, it leads to all kinds of extravagant absurdities, as it did in the case of Zeno, who wasted his energies on endless intellectual puzzles and quibbles about the impossibility of motion and the non-existence of place and so on. He is interesting merely because the Sophists were (though they may not have acknowledged it) his lineal descendants. With them, as with him, there was no absolute truth, and consequently no absolute knowledge. Their highest object was intellectualism and rhetorical artifice—that art of Belial, “to make the worse appear the better reason.”

Zeno is said to have accompanied Parmenides to Athens in 448, and to have been at that time about forty years of age. The only important literary relics of these two Eleatics are about a hundred hexameters by Parmenides, besides a Latin version of about fifty more. In one fragment he offers us a fine imaginative picture—a vision in which he is borne aloft, in a chariot drawn by the horses of Wisdom, out of the night of Ignorance and through the portal of the goddess Justice, up into the sunlit realm of Knowledge. In other fragments he insists again and again on the existence of the One and the non-existence of the Many, and he asserts that all sensible things are resultants produced by two counteracting principles, such as cold and heat, darkness and light, force and inertia.

Empedocles of Acragas, the last of the great colonial sages, was a man of supreme intellectual powers and of a most extra-







## THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

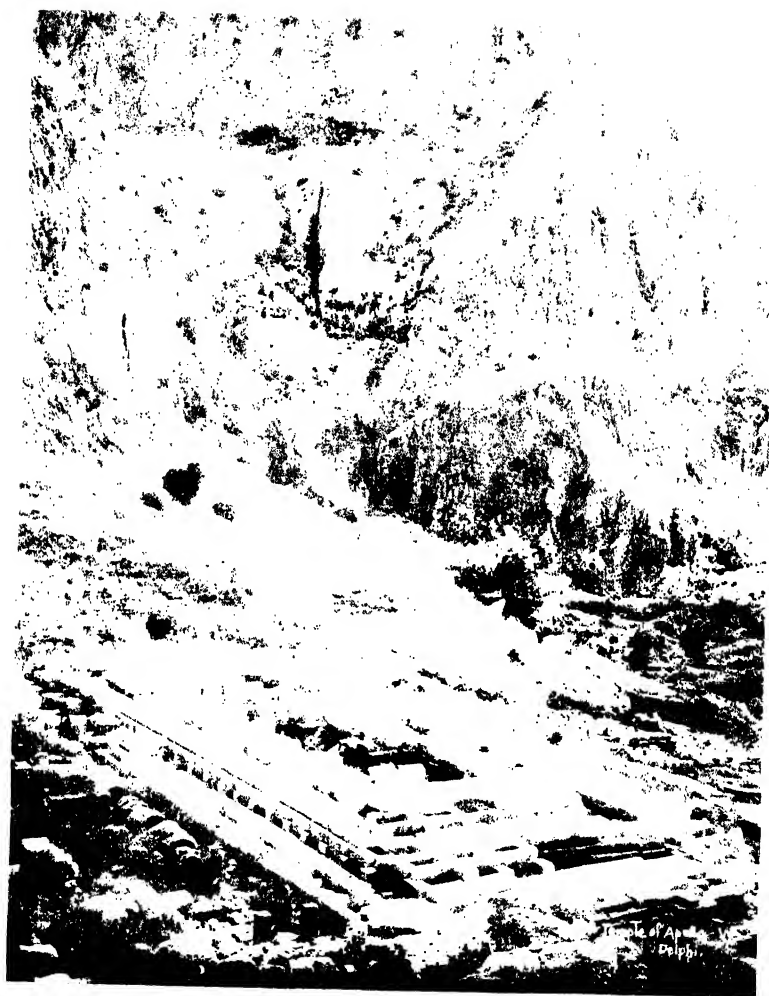
ordinary character. His personality is half hidden in fable, for he claimed supernatural powers as a divinity exiled for a time from heaven, and was revered as such. Mounted on a chariot, clad in purple robes, and crowned with Delphic laurel and with gold, he made triumphal progress through Sicily. Many miracles of healing are attributed to him. It is even said that he raised the dead. By his art—perhaps by draining a marsh—Selinus was freed from pestilence (see coin 5, Plate IV). Some assert that he threw himself into the crater of Actna (as happens in Matthew Arnold's poem) to solve the mystery of existence. Others say that after a banquet, when all his companions had fallen asleep, he disappeared, and, like Elijah, was borne aloft to heaven. The modern critic is more inclined to accept the statement of Timaeus, the historian of Sicily, that he took ship for the Peloponnese and died there. That he was a great poet is proved by the magnificent eulogy addressed to him by Lucretius, and also by a fragment of about 470 lines from his poem on Nature, which is grand in language and contains some highly imaginative metaphors. His philosophy seems to have combined some of the main doctrines of the Ionic, Eleatic, and Pythagorean schools. Like Xenophanes he believed in the one real existence, and denied the testimony of the senses to be absolutely true. He developed a cosmology, founded on the four elements. These elements, however, are not 'self-created' or 'self-moving,' as with the old Ionic sages; they are mere material (*ἕλν*) subject to the influence of immaterial forces, which he named 'love' and 'hate,' the attraction and repulsion caused by which set up an eddying motion and thus formed the natural world out of chaos. Should 'love' finally conquer, the world would relapse into a state (*ἄπειρον*) where there is no counteraction, no contradiction, no genus or species or other differentiation, and where everything is everything else. He seems to have originated the theory of 'emanations' (adopted by Democritus, and described by Lucretius)—that is, the giving off by natural objects of minute particles that affect those elements of our sense-organs which are of the same nature. Hence the doctrine

## ANCIENT GREECE

"Like is affected by like," which was later applied even to things immaterial—as by Plato to the relation between the intellect and its cognate Ideas.

The attribution of affections and will to elemental matter (or to prime monads, *i.e.* atoms) converted the universe, so to speak, into a living and sensitive thing, such as Virgil describes in a celebrated passage (*Æn.* vi. 723 *sq.*), but was in reality no more intelligible than the old Ionic doctrine of self-created and self-moving prime elements. The one great difficulty remained, and for the materialist still remains, *viz.* to account for this omnipresent Will or Energy in Nature. "Amid the mysteries," says Herbert Spencer, "that become the more mysterious the more they are thought about, there will remain the one absolute certainty that we are ever in the presence of an infinite and eternal energy from which all things proceed." To attempt to explain it as due to chemical affinity, gravity, magnetism, or any such natural force does not in the least help towards a solution. We still ask: Whence comes the force that causes these physical manifestations?

It was Anaxagoras who first gave a definite answer to this question. He held, indeed, that matter was eternal, infinite, indestructible, and uncreated (for his mind refused to believe in "creation from nothing"), but he believed that it existed originally in a chaotic state in which "all things were together [*ὁμοῦ*]"—that is, not differentiated and distinguishable—until "Mind [*Νοῦς*]" came and arranged them into a Cosmos." This Mind, or Intelligence, is conceived by Anaxagoras as not immanent in matter, far less as identical with matter, but as an immaterial ordering Will, self-existent (*ἐψ' ἑωυτοῦ*), omniscient, and "with supreme lordship over all things." Thus we have no longer a materialistic explanation of the universe (which, in spite of their doctrines in regard to the Deity, was still apparently held by Xenophanes and others like him), and no longer a Monistic identification of mind and matter, nor even such 'Higher Pantheism' as that described by Tennyson, but a distinct confession of a spiritual cause of the ordered universe.



30. FOUNDATIONS OF APOLLO'S TEMPLE, WEST DELPHI



## THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

Both Plato and Aristotle, however, complain that Anaxagoras (as is the case with many of us) only called in this divine Intelligence when in difficulties—so that Socrates is said (in the *Phaedo*) to have given up the study of his works because the writer had not the courage to apply his own doctrine in physical questions. But, timid guess as it was, it was apparently the first conception by a Greek thinker of a God of infinite power and goodness, such as was proclaimed by Socrates, so that we cannot be surprised at the words of Aristotle: “When one of them said that there is in Nature an Intelligence that is the cause of the order of the universe, this man appears alone to have been sober among the wild speculations of his predecessors.”

Anaxagoras (c. 500–428) was a native of Clazomenae, in Ionia. Probably soon after the battle of Salamis he went to Athens, where he lived for about thirty years. He was an intimate friend of Pericles, and his teachings exercised great influence on Euripides. In 450 he was accused of impiety by the Athenian mob and the high-priests of Olympian orthodoxy, and only escaped death by the eloquent pleadings of Pericles. He retired to Lampsacus, where he died in 428.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

(431-404)

SECTIONS: THUCYDIDES : SOPHOCLES, EURIPIDES, ARISTOPHANES : DEMOCRITUS, THE SOPHISTS, SOCRATES :  
SCULPTURE

**I**N 445 a 'Thirty Years' Peace had been concluded between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, who had been in a state of almost continuous hostility for about fifteen years. This peace had lasted only some twelve years—those years during which the Parthenon and the third Long Wall of Athens and the docks and marts of the Peiraeus were built—when events occurred that led to the declaration of war by Sparta. The conflict lasted for about twenty-seven years. After the first ten years of ineffectual warfare, consisting mainly of such reprisals as were possible between a maritime and a land power, a respite was given by the Peace of Nicias (421), but the break was so short that, with Thucydides, we may regard the war as scarcely interrupted. Hostilities were soon renewed. Had the Athenians remained true to the policy of Pericles and renounced all ambitious attempts to increase their oversea empire, they might have retained their maritime supremacy; but, under the influence of such demagogues and adventurers as Cleon and Alcibiades, they embarked on the disastrous Sicilian expedition (415), by which, and by the revolt of almost all their allies, their power was fatally undermined and rapidly sank, until Sparta, which had built ships and had even stooped to solicit the powerful aid of Persia against the 'enslaver of Greece,' crushed the Athenian fleet at the battle of Aegospotami, captured Athens, razed her Long Walls, and put an end to her empire (404).



AN ATTIC HYDRIA

MUSEUM OF BLACK-FIGURE





## THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

The story of this Peloponnesian War (as we call it, regarding it from the Athenian point of view) is told very fully by Thucydides down to the year 411, and is continued by Xenophon in his *Hellenica*. Later historians have repeated, sometimes with a vast amount of comment, all the details of every little skirmish or political complication. Doubtless during these twenty-seven years many heroic deeds were done, and some memorable events took place, as well as many that every true lover of Greece would gladly forget ; but there is a very great deal to be found in the hundreds of pages often devoted to this war which is for us of no importance whatever—except when we associate it with memories of Thucydides. All these miserable fightings and butcheries, all this hateful intestine strife and hatred and treason and inhumanity, bulk so largely in the ordinary Greek history because they have been recounted by a writer perhaps unrivalled for graphic description, for brilliant rhetoric, and for powers of subtle analysis. I do not purpose to make any attempt to describe fully the details of the war, but shall give a concise statement of the chief events of this period and then some descriptive passages from Thucydides.

### THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR (431-404)

In the last chapter we followed the course of events down to the revolt and reduction of Samos in 439. Some five years later incidents occurred in connexion with two Corinthian colonies, Corcyra and Potidaea, which (as Corinth was the great maritime rival of Athens) induced the Athenians to interfere, and led to remonstrance and finally an ultimatum from Sparta, as the head of the Peloponnesian league and the champion of the liberties of Greece.

The trouble began at Epidamnus (Dyrrhachium, in Illyria), a colony of Corcyra (Corfu). The Epidamnians, harassed by exiled oligarchs, appealed to Corcyra, and, obtaining no aid, with the advice of the Delphic oracle turned to Corinth, which sent them troops. The Corcyraeans forthwith blockaded Epidamnus. Corinth sent seventy-five ships against them, but

## ANCIENT GREECE

the Corcyraeans had a large fleet, and, after defeating the Corinthian ships, captured Epidamnus. Then Corinth, highly indignant, resolved to collect a great navy. Both sides appealed to Athens, and Athens (though it was a hostile act against the democracy of Epidamnus) was induced by the prospect of such strong maritime support against her future Peloponnesian enemies to make an alliance with Corcyra, and sent ships. A naval battle then took place (433) off the Sybota islets, near Corcyra. The Athenian ships held aloof at first, but interfered to save the Corcyraeans from defeat. The Corinthians sailed homewards, much incensed at the breach of the 'Thirty Years' Peace—a charge repelled by the Athenians, who asserted that Corcyra had belonged to neither of the two great confederacies, and that Athens had a right to defend her new ally.

Another complication with Corinth arose in the regions Thraceward. Potidaea, on the isthmus of Pallene, was a Corinthian colony, but had become a tributary ally of Athens, and was now ordered by the Athenians to eject its Corinthian officials. It refused. Corinthian forces were sent to support its revolt, but were defeated, and Potidaea was closely invested for two years by the Athenians.<sup>1</sup> Corinth now appealed to Sparta, which was itself incensed at Athens for having (on the advice of Pericles) excluded Megara from its ports and marts. An Athenian envoy was, perhaps accidentally, present at Sparta, and was allowed to answer the Megarians and Corinthians. Thucydides has taken the opportunity to give us some brilliant speeches, which, though fictitious, probably represent fairly accurately the arguments on both sides. The Peloponnesian confederates, he tells us, held two assemblies, and the Corinthians were allowed a final speech, in which they vehemently incited Sparta to overthrow the 'despot city' which was trying to enslave all Greece. In spite of the prudent advice of the king, Archidamus, the violent war-speech of an ephor carried the assembly, and, after receiving encouragement from the Delphic oracle (which did not feel ashamed of thus

<sup>1</sup> A monument now in the British Museum extols those who fell on the Athenian side.



62. TEMPLE OF APHAIA, AEGINA



63. AEGINA PEDIMENT



## THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

inciting fratricidal war), and after making various trivial demands (*e.g.* that Athens should cast out the 'pollution' in the person of Pericles), Sparta sent an ultimatum: "The Athenians can avoid war if they restore the independence of the Hellenes."

The speech of Pericles at this juncture was (if we accept the version given by Thucydides) a splendid example of fiery and yet dignified oratory. He advised a temperate answer and a proposal of arbitration, but a decisive refusal of all unjustifiable demands. Regarding war as inevitable, he reviewed the resources of both sides and pointed out that the Lacedaemonians, having neither ships nor money, could not carry on any protracted war. Formerly Themistocles had advised the abandonment of Athens; Pericles now advised the Athenians to trust not only to their wooden but also to their stone walls, and to abandon their open country to devastation. He believed in a Fabian policy of exhaustion. War was inevitable, was indeed practically declared, but they still, says Thucydides, had intercourse without heralds, until early in the year 431, when the first act of open hostility took place—an attack by the Thebans on the town of Plataea, which, though Boeotian, had always remained faithful to Athens. The attack failed and a massacre of Theban prisoners—the precursor of many such barbarities, if that word can be applied with double intensity to the Greeks themselves—was the signal for the beginning of the long and miserable civil war.

Archidamus and his Peloponnesians forthwith invaded Attica, from which flocks and herds had been removed to Euboea and the inhabitants to Athens, where the overcrowding was terrible. Pericles, in spite of fierce opposition, prevented the Athenians from sallying forth against the foe. The fleet was sent against the 'Peloponnese and Peloponnesian colonies, but very little was effected. In their excitement and alarm, and perhaps in order to relieve the overcrowding of the city, the Athenians decided to expel the whole population of Aegina and to settle the island with Athenians. The Aeginetans found a home at Thyrea in Laconia, as the Messenians had at

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Naupactus, but a few years later were captured and enslaved by the Athenians.

To what a degree our interest in the war is purely literary is plain from the fact that for many the most memorable event of this first year is the great speech of Pericles—a funeral panegyric in honour of those who had already fallen,<sup>1</sup> and whose bones were now buried with great ceremony in the Cerameicus without the walls. This celebrated speech, reported by one who was himself doubtless present, must have been so impressed on the memories, and perhaps also the tablets, of many that we may feel sure that we possess in the famous eleven chapters of Thucydides much of what Pericles actually said. Indeed, all the three great orations of Pericles that Thucydides has preserved—the first in favour of war, the second in honour of the fallen, and the third, spoken shortly before his death, in self-defence against his assailants—have, in spite of many a brilliant Thucydidean antithesis, an impress of originality which we find in no other of his reported speeches.

In the second year of the war, after the annual invasion and devastation of Attica, a calamity befell Athens which probably contributed more than the bloodiest defeats to her final overthrow.<sup>2</sup> Out of perhaps 100,000 citizens about a fifth, besides an “indiscoverable number” of slaves, foreigners, and others, died of a terrible plague<sup>3</sup> which continued for two years, and after a year’s intermission broke out again with great virulence. A vivid description—as vivid as anything in Boccaccio, Defoe, Virgil, or Lucretius—is given by Thucydides, who was himself struck down by the disease, but recovered. In the midst of this distress Athens made overtures of peace, but they were rejected. Pericles meanwhile had

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 104 represents Athene contemplating a stele with the names (possibly) of these same warriors.

<sup>2</sup> See Note A (Phigaleia). A statue to Apollo, the ‘Averter of Pestilence,’ by Calamis was dedicated in Athens about 430.

<sup>3</sup> Probably some malignant form of variola, now extinct; evidently not the bubonic plague. Curiously, no account is given by the great physician Hippocrates, who lived from 460 to 356.



A LATE BRONZE





## THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

made an unsuccessful sea-raid on the Peloponnese, and on his return was vehemently assailed, and fined, and deprived of his post as *strategos*. His eloquent and dignified defence caused a revulsion of feeling and he was reinstated in his command, but many sufferings had of late fallen upon him. He had been constantly lampooned and satirized and insulted both by political and private enemies.

His friends Pheidias and Anaxagoras, the greatest artist and the greatest philosopher of the day, had been assailed by bigotry and calumny; the one had died in prison, the other was an exile. Aspasia, with whom he lived, and whose house was a centre of intellectual and artistic life, had been accused, perhaps by Cleon, of impiety and immorality. Both his sons (by a wife from whom he was separated) died of the plague, and the blow seems to have left him a broken man.<sup>1</sup> A year or so later he died, it is said from a low fever after an attack of the plague. As he lay dying and seemingly unconscious, his friends, says Plutarch, spoke together in praise of him, but he heard it and interrupted them saying: "What chiefly gives me pride is that no Athenian ever put on mourning for any act of mine." By friends and enemies alike the wonderful eloquence of Pericles is attested. Aristophanes describes him as the Olympian Zeus hurling his flaming thunderbolts, and Plato extols his "majestic intelligence." His character and his policy are graphically described by Thucydides (see p. 348), and though the partiality of the historian is apparent,<sup>2</sup> we may rather accept his estimate than the suggestion of Plutarch that he corrupted the people by display and by distributions of public money and by "nursing up the city in elegant pleasures" in order to maintain his personal power, or the accusation of his assailants that he "fanned up the war" to escape the charge of peculation. At the same time, while fully allowing

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch describes him as breaking down into uncontrollable tears and sobs at the funeral of his favourite son, Paralus. The elder, Xanthippus, was a *mauvais sujet* and caused him much trouble. His son Pericles, by Aspasia, was legitimized before the death of his father.

<sup>2</sup> In spite of the fact that he was related to the family of Cimon, the hereditary opponent of Xanthippus and Pericles.

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his integrity and sincerity, it is possible to doubt the wisdom of a policy which, although opposed to imperialistic adventure, was in support of an empire that had been built up on a foundation of tyrannical injustice, extortion, and bloodshed, and was doomed to perish by the hatred that it inspired not only in the rest of the Hellenic world,<sup>1</sup> but also among its so-called allies.

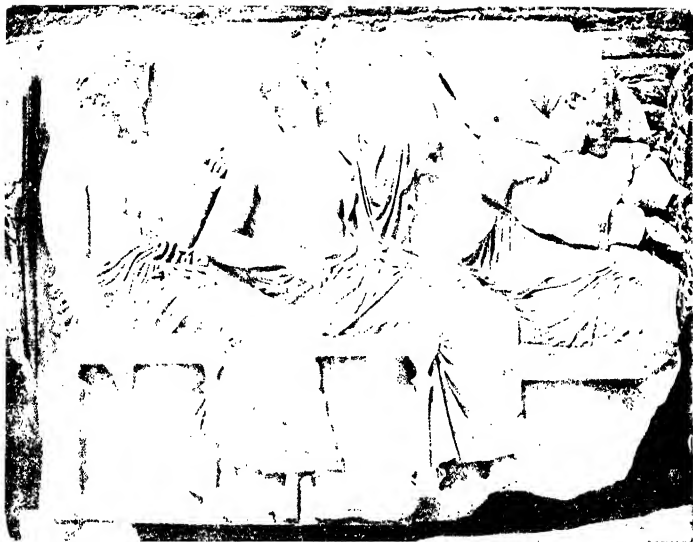
While the plague was raging an armament had been sent to storm Potidaea, which still held out, but a fourth of the troops had perished by the disease and the rest returned. Early in 429, however, the town surrendered to blockade<sup>2</sup> after such sufferings that the garrison had fed on the bodies of the slain. Fair terms were granted, which intensely displeased the Athenian mob, who had looked forward to a great capture of slaves and a wholesale butchery to gratify their resentment. About the same time the Spartans massacred a number of prisoners captured at sea and cast their bodies out for the birds and beasts. The Athenians retaliated by murdering Spartan envoys who had fallen into their hands and by serving the bodies in like fashion. Henceforward acts like these and of still greater ferocity became common, till at Aegospotami from three to four thousand Athenian prisoners were butchered in cold blood.

The chief events of the next five years (429-424), besides the almost annual devastation of Attica, were the capture of Plataea by the Lacedaemonians, the revolt and reduction of Mytilene, the revolution and massacre at Corcyra, the capture of Spartans on Sphacteria, and the defeat of Athens at Delion. The following brief accounts of these facts will be supplemented later by descriptive passages from Thucydides.

In 429, instead of devastating Attica, Archidamus and his Peloponnesians cross the ridge of Cithaeron, and the Plataeans, on the (never fulfilled) promise of aid from Athens, determine to stand a siege. The account that Thucydides has given of this

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides, though an Athenian, tells us that at the beginning of the war public feeling through the whole of Greece was "greatly in favour of the Lacedaemonians" as adversaries of the 'despot city.'

<sup>2</sup> Socrates served as Athenian hoplite in this campaign.



78. GROUPE OF GODS, PARTHENON FRIEZE •



79. THE 'STRANGFORD' SHIELD



## THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

siege, with all its picturesque details of vallation and counter-vallation, of mines, battering-rams, and so on, and of the escape of about half the garrison, who on a moonless winter night amidst a storm of wind and rain scaled the besiegers' walls and waded across the flooded moats, covered with fragile ice, and reached Athens in safety—this picture has made the siege of little Plataea, with its garrison of 400, and later only 200, Plataeans and 80 Athenians, as famous as that of Syracuse, Saguntum, or Magdeburg. Athens, either from cowardice or because of the plague, thought it best to forget its promised aid, and at last, in the summer of 427, the Plataeans surrendered at discretion. In vain they appealed to the memory of Marathon and their heroic ancestors and to the tombs of the Spartans who fell at the battle of Plataea. Commissioners sent from Sparta to decide their fate put to each man only the question whether in the present war he had done any service to the Spartans or their allies. All the 200 were slaughtered, as well as some Athenians, and Plataea was razed to the ground.

While Plataea was still being besieged (428) Mytilene, the capital of Lesbos, nominally still an autonomous ally of Athens, was induced by the oligarchical party to assert, as Samos had done, its independence. Lesbian envoys appealed to the Greeks assembled at the Olympic Games, and Lesbos was admitted into the Peloponnesian league. The Athenians, though much crippled by the plague and by want of money, dispatched forty ships under Paches and blockaded Mytilene. The Spartans also sent a fleet, but it returned without daring to attack the Athenians, and ultimately the democrats in the city forced the authorities to capitulate on the condition that its fate should be decided by the Assembly at Athens. At Athens there had come to the front a politician named Cleon. The character of Cleon as drawn by Aristophanes, who was an aristocrat in politics and his private enemy, as well as by Thucydides, who was banished by his influence, is that of a loud-voiced, brutal, overbearing demagogue, one of the most pernicious products of the dicasteries and the Ecclesia; and, after making all due allowances for personal dislike and for

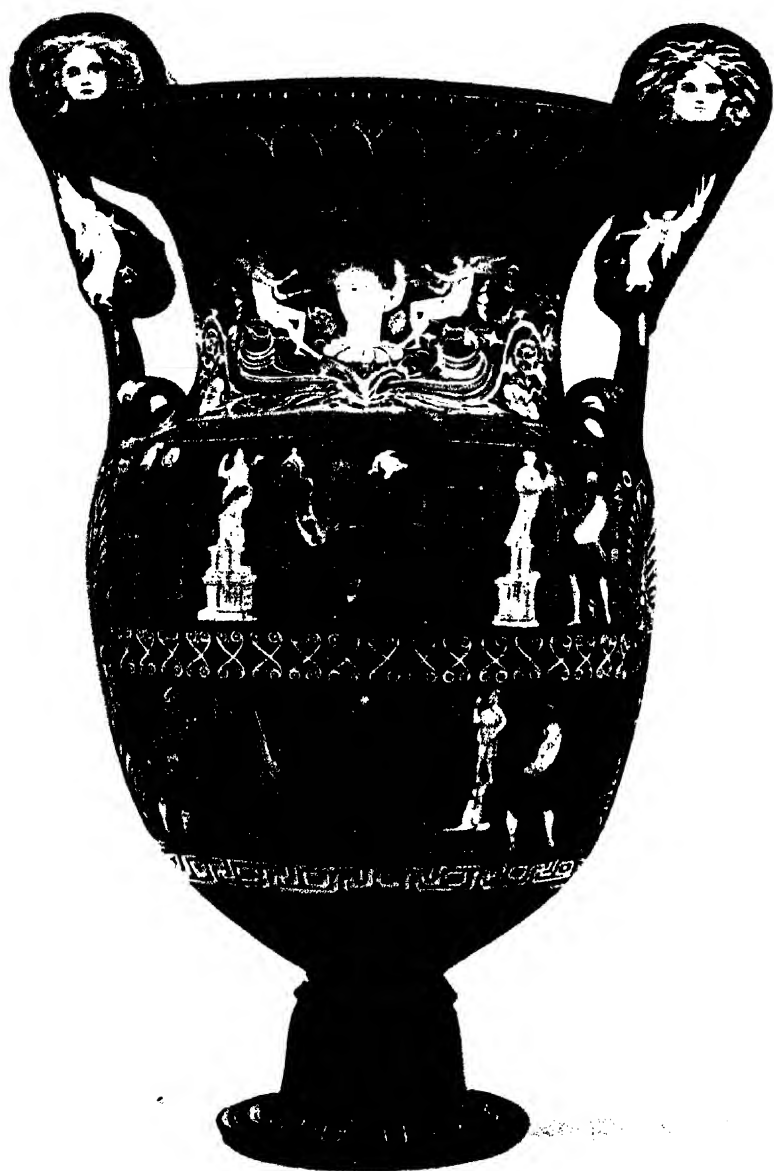
## ANCIENT GREECE

political rancour, as well as for the exaggerations of comic caricature, this tanner or leather-seller, who has been sedulously whitewashed by some modern writers, seems to have really been something very like the picture given by his two great contemporaries. That on one occasion, as we shall see, he gained a remarkable success, and that his chauvinistic war-policy may have been more to the advantage of the Athenian Empire than that advocated by the milder-tempered Nicias, can be allowed without causing us to exchange the portrait of the man given us by Aristophanes in his *Knights* for that offered by writers who describe him as a "great Opposition speaker," not more unnecessarily virulent than Demosthenes, Cicero, Milton, or Chatham, and withal a discoverer and castigator of social and political scandals and a true friend of the poorer classes. This man proposed that all the grown-up men of Mytilene should be put to death, and his proposal was passed. A ship of war was forthwith sent with orders to Paches to carry out the terrible verdict. But a revulsion of feeling set in. On the next day the Assembly was again summoned, and by a small minority, in spite of Cleon's efforts, the decree was revoked. A swift vessel was dispatched to overtake the trireme, which had the start of a day and a night. Paches had already received the warrant and was preparing to execute it when the reprieve arrived. The Athenian mob was satiated with the blood of about 1000 ringleaders<sup>1</sup> who had been sent to Athens, and Paches, on his return, was arraigned on some charge and committed suicide in the presence of the Athenian burghers who were judging the case.

One of the most vivid scenes depicted by Thucydides is that of the horrible massacres of the Corcyraean oligarchs by their fellow-citizens which took place at this period (427-425). The episode, with all its revolting details—perhaps as revolting in their inhuman, unnatural ferocity as anything in the world's history—has been recounted by many writers.<sup>2</sup> The event is only indirectly connected with the Peloponnesian War, and need

<sup>1</sup> Some would read A instead of A in Thuc. iii. 50, i.e. 'thirty' instead of 'a thousand.'

<sup>2</sup> See Thuc. iii. 71 sq., iv. 45 sq.; Grote, I. and lii.



AN APULIAN FUNERAL AMPHORA





## THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

not be retailed anew. The last scene of this insane butchery of fellow-Greeks and fellow-citizens, as described by Thucydides, together with his reflexions on moral and political feeling in Greece at this time, will be given or referred to later. Here it is only necessary to say that the trouble was begun by the fact that Corinth sent back to Corcyra the 250 high-born prisoners whom they had captured in the sea-fight off Sybota (433). The rest of the prisoners they had sold as slaves, but had kept and treated with especial lenience these nobles, with the intention of using them later for the establishment of an oligarchy in Corcyra. The occasion now presented itself, as Athens was weakened by the plague and distracted by the Lesbian revolt. The return of these prisoners was the signal for a revolution, in which, after some temporary successes and many atrocities, the oligarchs were overwhelmed and driven out. They returned and entrenched themselves in a stronghold, Istoné, but finally capitulated to the Athenians and the democrats and were all massacred.

Another important event of this first period of the war, also vividly described by Thucydides, is the capture of some 300 Spartans on the island of Sphacteria. An Athenian fleet had been dispatched in 425 to interfere in the affairs of the Sicilian cities and to help the democratic party at Corcyra. As they coasted round the Peloponnese the Athenians had fortified and occupied Pylos,<sup>1</sup> the promontory which together with Sphacteria forms the great landlocked bay famous in modern history under the name Navarino. The Spartans sent considerable forces by land and by sea to eject the Athenians, who were commanded by Demosthenes and numbered 200 with perhaps 1000 Messenians. The Athenian fleet then hastened back from Corcyra and defeated the Peloponnesian vessels, forcing them to run ashore at the north end of the bay. They then blockaded Sphacteria, on which was the main body of the picked land troops of the Spartans. The alarm was so great at Sparta that a truce was made in order that envoys should be sent to Athens to treat for peace. The stranded Spartan ships and others, sixty in

<sup>1</sup> The Homeric 'sandy Pylos,' Nestor's town, was probably in the vicinity.

## ANCIENT GREECE

all, were handed over to the Athenians on the promise that they should be restored at the expiration of the truce—a promise which, by the way, was not fulfilled. At Athens all right-thinking men were doubtless inclined for peace, and it would have been a wise decision, and one that might have affected deeply the future of the Hellenic race and of European civilization, had the Athenian people taken advantage of their good fortune to end honourably this most foolish and detestable civil war.

But the evil passions of the mob and their greed for the aggrandizement of the empire were stirred up by Cleon. Nisaea (the Corinthian port), the ports of Megara, the whole of Achaea, and Troezen was the price that Athens demanded for peace; and the demand was refused. But the blockade of Sphaacteria lasted long and the mob at Athens grew impatient. "If I were commander," bragged Cleon before the Assembly, "I would soon do it!" At these words Nicias, the *strategos*, who had been bantered by Cleon for not going off to Pylos and capturing the Spartans, rose up and offered to cede his command to the demagogue. The mob was tickled, and insisted. Finally Cleon accepted, and with a band of mercenaries, refusing the offer of Athenian hoplites and promising, doubtless amid great laughter, to return within twenty days with the Spartan captives, he set out for Pylos, and, to the amazement of all and the discomfiture of many, within the stipulated twenty days he and Demosthenes returned with the Spartan prisoners—nearly 300 men. The fight had been very severe. The Spartans had been driven with heavy loss gradually back till they had taken their last stand, as at Thermopylae, on a height; but, when circumvented, as at Thermopylae, they doubtless felt no such enthusiasm for their cause as those around Leonidas had felt, and they surrendered—a course never before taken, perhaps, in Spartan warfare. Sphaacteria was strongly garrisoned with Messenians from Naupactus, whose exultation at the crushing defeat of their ancient foe found, and still finds, expression in a gift that they made from the spoil to the sacred precinct at Olympia—a splendid figure

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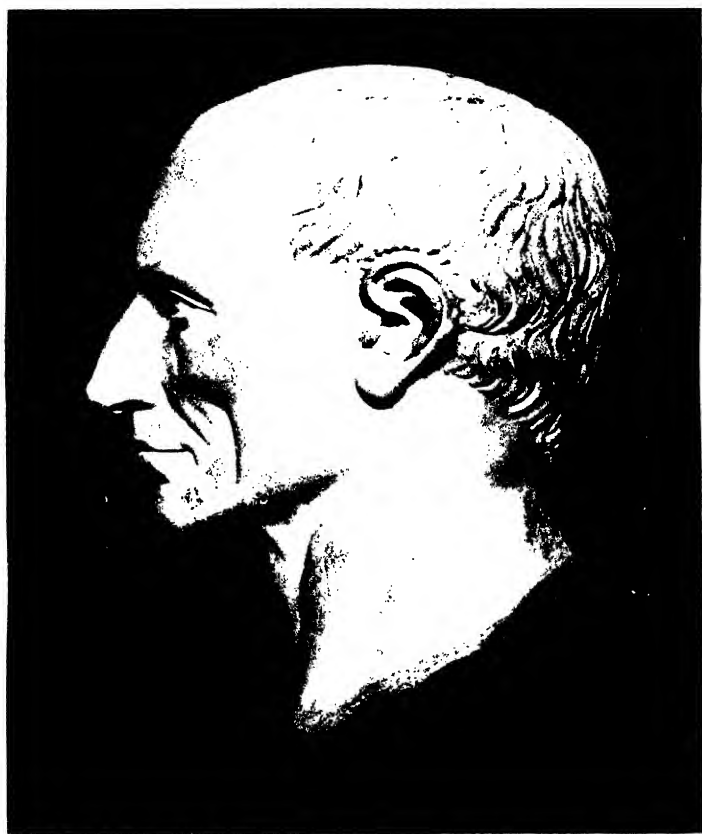
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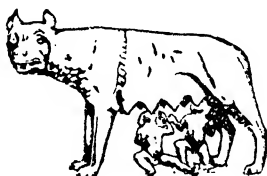
*Gaius Julius Caesar*

# REPUBLICAN ROME

HER CONQUESTS MANNERS AND INSTITUTIONS  
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DEATH  
OF CAESAR

BY H. L. HAVELL B.A.

Formerly Scholar of University College Oxford  
Translator of "Longinus on the Sublime" etc.



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## PREFACE

**S**HORTLY after the manuscript of this book was completed Mr. Havell, when on a visit to England from Halle, where he lectured in the University, met with a fatal accident while cycling.

This lamentable termination of a busy and honoured life removed from the book in its progress through the press the assistance which would in ordinary circumstances be rendered by the author. Fortunately Mr. Havell was extremely careful in finishing his manuscripts. But his work upon the selection of the illustrations was not very far advanced, and only some notes concerning the maps were found to be serviceable. It was therefore necessary to begin this part of the work afresh, and Mr. H. B. Cotterill was good enough to undertake the selection of the illustrations and to write the explanatory Notes upon them. We are also greatly indebted to him for valuable advice and assistance in the compilation of the maps.

Mr. Cotterill desires that acknowledgment should be made here of the kind assistance given him in the selection of the coins by Mr. J. Allan, of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum.

THE PUBLISHERS

*April 29, 1914*



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To illustrate the history of Republican Rome fully and attractively is very much more difficult than to find interesting pictures illustrative of early Greek history, where one has not only a great number of Cretan, Trojan, Mycenæan, and Dipylon antiquities, but also many magnificent temples and a large choice of statues. In the case of Rome most of the great works of architecture are of a date somewhat too late for one's purpose, and of early Roman sculpture and bronzes (mostly the work of Greek or Etruscan artists) very little has survived. One is, therefore, compelled to give *sites*, such as those here given of Carthage, Corinth, Syracuse, Core, Veli, Lake Trasimenus, and so on, or pictures of somewhat shapeless ruins, such as that of the Servian *Agger*, or of what are not strictly Roman antiquities, such as Etruscan walls and Etruscan tombs, seeing that Etruscan civilization and Etruscan art existed at a time when Rome produced little that interests the art-lover or the archaeologist.

H. B. COTTELL,

*The names of those from the comp. ' for permission to use copyright photographs are printed in italic*

### 1. CAIUS JULIUS CAESAR

*Frontispiece*

PAGE

In the British Museum. "The scanty hair is brought to the front. It is mentioned by Suetonius that when his baldness increased and became the object of the wit of his opponents, Caesar combed his hair forward from the top of his head." For further details see British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture, vol. iii., part 7. *Photo Mansell.*

### 2. THE SHE-WOLF OF THE CAPITOL, AND THE INFANTS ROMULUS AND REMUS

4

Without doubt of high antiquity. Tradition affirms it to have been set up by the ædile Ogulnius in 296 B.C., but it may be two centuries older and of Etruscan workmanship. It has some similarity to the wolf on ancient Roman coins. Formerly it was believed to be the wolf mentioned by Dionysius and by Livy, and the great antiquarian Winckelmann held it to be the bronze described by Cicero (*Catiline Oration*, iii. 8), who says that the gilded figure of the infant Romulus was struck by lightning. Marks that may possibly have been caused by lightning—"scorch'd by the Roman Jove's ethereal dart," as Byron expresses it—are discernible on the left hind-leg; but modern scepticism smiles at them as mediæval

# REPUBLICAN ROME

PAGE

patchwork. The bronze seems to have been in existence (that is, not lost) ever since the days of Cicero. In the Middle Ages (e.g. during Alberico's domination of Rome, c. 930) it stood in a hall of the Lateran palace (the *Aula ad Lupan*) and was known popularly as the 'Mater Romanorum.' The twins are of sixteenth-century workmanship and of Michelangelesque type. *Photo Alinari.*

## 3. 'THE WALLS OF ROMULUS'

6

On the slope of the Cermalus, not far to the south of the great *Domus Tiberiana* on the Palatine, below the precinct of the *Magna Mater* and above the stairs of *Cacus* the Giant, in a quarter where the 'Lupercal' may have been (the place where the twins were believed to have been suckled by the she-wolf) and where the *Tugurium Faustuli* or *Casa Romuli* stood—i.e. the cottage of *Faustulus* the shepherd, or of *Romulus*, in later times the central sanctuary of Rome—there were excavated in 1907 very ancient tufa blocks that may possibly be relics of the walls of 'Roma quadrata,' which are attributed by tradition to *Romulus*. A huge pit for offerings to the infernal deities (*mundus*) has lately been found, dating from the foundation of the city. This pit was already forgotten in Republican times, and was built over by the palaces of the Caesars. *Photo Alinari.*

## 4. 'TOMB OF HORATI AND CURIATI'

10

A monument on the road between Albano and Ariccia. Also formerly called 'Tomb of *Arns Tarquinius*.' Criticism now holds it to date from late Republican, or even late Imperial, times, and to be merely an imitation of the ancient Etruscan style. But it certainly reminds one forcibly of the tomb of *Porsenna* as described by *Varro*, and may surely be a restoration of some old Etruscan original; and that this original was *not* the tomb of *Arns* or of the *Curiatii*, who can prove? *Photo Anderson.*

## 5. THE LAST RELICS OF THE PONS SUBLICIUS

12

See p. 13. The oldest and for a long time the only Roman bridge, built on wooden piles (*sublicae*), which were renewed from age to age: traditionally the bridge defended by *Horatius Codes*. It was reconstructed in stone by the triumvir *Lepidus*, but was ruined by a flood. This picture, taken in 1871, shows the relics of the piles, which were demolished when the Tiber was canalized and 'regulated.' *Photo Alinari.*

## 6. THE TIBER AND THE CLOACA MAXIMA

14

An old view taken before the *Lungo Tevere* was constructed. In background the Round Temple (Plate 54) and the fine Campanile of *Sta. Maria in Cosmedin*. See pp. 14, 18. *Livy* (i. 38) and *Pliny* seem to attribute the building of the great *Cloaca* to *Tarquinius Priscus*. It was one of

# LIST OF PLATES

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many subterranean canals that drained the marshy parts of Rome, especially the Velabrum, Forum, and Subura. The height of the arch is about 12 feet. The aperture is faced with peperino, but tufa is the main material of the huge triple arches. *Photo Alinari.*

## AGGER OF SERVIUS TULLIUS 18

The original *Agger* was probably only an earthwork. Some of these remains probably date from about 350-300 B.C., when the earthworks were strengthened and faced outside by masonry; others from a later age, when inner walls, supports, and towers were added. *Photo Anderson.*

## 8. 'SEPULCHRE OF THE TARQUINS' 20

The interior of one of the many rock-sepulchres in the Necropolis of Cerveteri (Caere). See Plate 18. This sepulchre is known as *La Tomba dei Tarquini*, or *La Grotta delle iscrizioni*. Faint traces of inscriptions may be discerned in our picture; amongst them occurs the name *Tarchnias*, the Etruscan form of the Roman 'Tarquinius.' *Photo Brogi.*

## 9. ANCIENT ETRUSCAN BRONZE 24

Representing a ploughman with his plough and oxen. The man wears a hat (*pileus*), a chiton, and an animal's skin. Note the very primitive form of the plough somewhat like that described in a famous passage of Hesiod's *Works and Days*. The bronze, which dates from early Republican times and is of rough workmanship, was perhaps a votive offering. The Minerva figure does not belong to the group. *Photo Alinari.*

## 10. ETRUSCAN WALLS OF VOLTERRA 32

A fine specimen of ancient 'Cyclopean' walls--far finer than those of Fiesole. Volaterrae was one of the most powerful of the twelve Etruscan cities, and possessed the harbours of Iuna and Populonia. It defied the Romans for a long time. It was taken by Sulla after a siege of two years. Its wonderful position and fortifications make it still one of the most striking of all Italian towns. See Plate 24. *Photo Brogi.*

## 11. ETRUSCAN SARCOPHAGUS 34

At Volterra. The recumbent and often painfully ugly and foreshortened figures of the deceased on Etruscan sarcophagi are generally of very much ruder workmanship than the lower reliefs. The former were doubtless often by a local stone-worker or terra-cotta artist, whereas the reliefs on the sarcophagus were bought ready-made and were carved by experienced sculptors who followed traditional *motifs*. A very common *motif* was the old legend (originally from Phrygia) of Pelops, Oenomaus, and Hippodameia. On many Etruscan



# REPUBLICAN ROME

sarcophagi one sees the collapse of the chariot and Pelops attacking Oenomaus with the broken chariot wheel, while other figures, one winged and holding a torch, like a Death-angel, are of difficult interpretation. Possibly the Etruscans, who were seemingly of the same origin as the Phrygians (see my *Ancient Greece*, p. 29), had variants of the legend. In this case the main subject is the starting of the deceased for the Lower World (another common *motif*); he is attended by a Death-angel on horseback and by other figures who seem to be carrying provisions slung on poles. But some of the details of the Pelops *motif* are evidently introduced—such as the broken wheel of Oenomaus, which may possibly be a symbol of death. *Photo Brogi.*

## 12. L. JUNIUS BRUTUS (?)

A bronze in the Capitol Museum, which, as also a marble bust at Naples, has striking similarity to the portrait of the old Brutus on various coins. See Plate 65, coin 3. The head (for the bust is sixteenth-century work) may date from the third or fourth century, and may possibly be copied from older portraits, but probably the younger Brutus (M. Junius) struck coins and had statues made that gave supposed portraits of his great ancestor. Noticeable are the very large ears. *Photo Anderson.*

## 13. ETRUSCAN BRONZE: HEAD OF A YOUTH

62 |

Probably older than 'I Aringatore' (Plate 20). In the Mus. Arch. Etr., Florence. Not known where found. Note that the 'white' of the eye is a solid part of the cast, the iris and pupil alone being hollow—and once filled with stone or glass. This curious characteristic is found also in a bronze in the Louvre, which was discovered at Fiesole and is therefore perhaps Etruscan. *Photo F. Bruckmann, Munich.*

## 14. ETRUSCAN WALL, PAESULAE (FIESOLE)

66 |

Near Florence. Within the enceinte are remains of later Roman buildings and a Roman theatre, where classical plays are sometimes acted. *Photo Alinari.*

## 15. COLUMNS AND ANCIENT WALL, CORA

70

See Plate 19. The two Corinthian columns, apparently of late Republican workmanship, support an architrave bearing an inscription that says the temple was dedicated to Castor and Pollux. The walls show 'Cyclopean' masonry of a primitive and impressive character. *Photo Brogi.*

## 16. NEAR VEIO (VEII)

73

Remains of an ancient gate. Veii was perhaps the most powerful of all the twelve Etruscan cities. It resisted the Romans for generations, and was at last captured

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- by Camillus in 396 B.C. The Cittadella of the present town stands on the site of the ancient, or perhaps the later, Roman Arx. *Photo Brogi.*
17. MATER MATUTA 90  
 Or Thultha, probably the Etruscan Goddess of the Dead. She holds in her lap her daughter Turan. The mother and daughter are somewhat analogous to Demeter and Persephone (Koré). Matuta was also sometimes identified with the Goddess of Dawn, or with Leucothea, or Vesta. The statue, which is about three feet high, is in the Museo Etrusco in Florence. *Photo Brogi.*
18. CERVETERI 92  
 On the site of the ancient Etruscan Caere (p. 93, etc.). It is said to have given shelter to the Tarquins, but to have helped Rome against the Gauls. After its conquest by Rome in 353 B.C. it was the first city that received *civitas sine suffragio*. The very extensive and richly decorated rock-sepulchres prove that Caere was in early times a large and powerful city. In the thirteenth century the inhabitants left Caere and founded Ceri-nuovo (New Ceri) at the distance of about three miles, but most of them returned later to the old town, which then received the name of Ceri-veteri (Old Ceri). The present town, of about 600 inhabitants, occupies only a small part of the ancient site. *Photo Brogi.*
19. TEMPLE AT CORA 96  
 Cora was a Volscian city—now Cori. The temple is supposed, on the strength of a rather dubious inscription, to have been dedicated to Hercules. Others call it the temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva—the three Capitoline deities. The style of the perhaps somewhat too graceful Doric columns and entablature (with metopes and triglyphs) shows probably Hellenistic influence of about 200–150 B.C. *Photo Brogi.*
20. 'L'ARINGATORE' 104  
*I.e.* the Haranguer (Orator). In the Museo Archeologico (Etrusco), Florence. Found about 1575 near Lake Trasimenus. On edge of mantle an Etruscan inscription tells us (if rightly interpreted by the Etruscan savant Corssen) that it represents Metilius and was erected by his widow Aulesi, and was made by Tenine Tuthines, who with his apprentices founded and chiselled it. Date about 300–250 B.C. *Photo F. Bruckmann, Munich.*
- I. THE VIA APPIA 112  
 At about the fifth milestone. The mound on the left in the midst of a *Bosco sacro* is sometimes called a tomb of the Horatii. Supposed tombs of Curiatii and Horatii abound. *Photo Alinari.*

# REPUBLICAN ROME

PLATE

## 22. SUOVETAURILIA

PAG

12.

The three animals (*sus, ovis, taurus*) which were sacrificed on occasions of 'lustration'—*e.g.* the atonement or purification connected with the quinquennial census, or with the setting forth of an army on a campaign, or the foundation of a temple. The animals were led round the assembly, or the place, that was to be purified, and then slaughtered. The custom is mentioned by Livy (i. 44) in connexion with the census rites instituted by Servius Tullius. This fine relief is post-Republican. It forms a side of one of the splendid marble parapets erected by Trajan on the Rostra. They were discovered (1872) in course of the excavations of the Forum, in a building that had been walled up. *Photo Anderson.*

## 23. INSULA TIBERINA

12

Looking up-stream from near the Ponte Rotto (the ancient Pons Aemilius). The view was taken before considerable 'improvements' altered the Cestian Bridge and the buildings on the island. To the right one sees the Pons Fabricius (Plate 57) by which one crosses the left arm of the river (for some years dry, during 'regulation' of the Tiber). The island, the form of which was compared to that of a ship, contained the temple of Aesculapius. In 293 B.C. the ravages of a plague induced the Romans to "fetch the god Aesculapius" from Epidaurus. They brought him to Rome in the form of a large snake, and when the ship arrived near this island, says the legend, the snake escaped to it and hid himself there. The present church of S. Bartolomeo probably stands on the site of the old temple. The Cestian Bridge, built by Augustus, very much restored, joins the island with Trastevere. *Photo Alinari.*

## 24. ETRUSCAN GATE, VOLTERRA

13.

Porta dell' Arco or 'dei Capi,' so called from the massive arch supported on Etruscan masonry, and from the two ancient heads. For Volterra see Plate 10. *Photo Brogi.*

## 25. PYRRHIUS

13

Naples, Mus. Naz. Found at Herculaneum. Only the edge of helmet restored. The Macedonian helm, the kingly scarf and the oak-garland (a special attribute of his) make it almost certain that it is meant for Pyrrhus (319-272 B.C.). The workmanship is of the Lysippus style, and denotes a date during or shortly after the life of Pyrrhus. *Photo F. Bruckmann, Munich.*

## 26. A VESTAL

14-

Found in the Atrium Vestae, and now in the Thermae Museum. Probably of later workmanship, but doubtless gives the ancient costume (*stola* and *pallium*) of the Vestal Virgins. The hood (*suffibulum*), that has a curious

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PLATE

PAGE

similarity to that of certain nuns, lets us see the six plaits (*seni crines*—probably a 'front' of false hair) which were bound round with black and red wool. Such a hood the Vestals had always to wear. Other Roman women might only wear one on their wedding-day. *Photo Anderson.*

## 27. CARTHAGE: VIEW OF BYRSA HILL, LOOKING NORTH- WARD

160

See also p. 321. The Byrsa Hill is now crowned by the cathedral built about 1890 by Cardinal Lavigerie. A small 'chapel of St. Louis' was erected in 1841 in memory of Louis IX of France (St. Louis), who died at Tunis in 1270 during the Eighth Crusade. The large unsightly building is an institute. The extensive relics of Carthage—an amphitheatre with memorial cross in honour of two martyrs, SS. Perpetua and Felicitas, hundreds of broken columns, etc., and the relics of huge ramparts—all seem to date from later Roman times, or from the age of the Vandal Genserik, or that of the Byzantines. The splendid aqueduct (once sixty miles long), arches of which cross the plain, dates from the reign of Hadrian. *Photo by Lehnert & Landrock, Tunis.*

## 28. COLUMNA ROSTRATA

168

In the Capitol Museum. Such columns (*navali surgeñtes ære columnæ*, as Virgil calls them) were erected as trophies after naval victories. In this case the column with the six ship-beaks (*rostra*) is partly or perhaps wholly of late workmanship (sometimes said to be by Michelangelo). The slab inserted in the base contains a portion of a very antique inscription recording the naval victory gained by C. Duilius over the Carthaginians near Mylæ in 260 B.C. *Photo Anderson.*

## 29. TRAPANI (DREPANUM) AND ERYX

178

View from the Molo. Drepanum (*i.e.* the 'Sickle') was so called from the shape of the tongue of land on which it lay. It was near Eryx that, according to Virgil, Anchises died, and the celebrated games on the anniversary of his death took place. *From "Aus dem class. Süden," by permission of Herr C. Coleman.*

## 30. ERYX

182

The fortresses to the left (now partly prisons) were built by the Normans on site of the celebrated temple of Venus Erycina, of which foundation-blocks still exist. The 'Castello' on the right has been restored and made habitable by Baron Pepoli. The mountain is now Monte S. Giuliano, and the town near its summit is on the site of the ancient town Eryx. *From "Aus dem class. Süden," by permission of Herr C. Coleman.*

# REPUBLICAN ROME

## PLATE

### 31. TOMB OF SCIPIO BARBATUS

Great-grandfather of the conqueror of Hannibal; consul in 298 B.C. A family vault of the Scipios was found in 1780 near the Via Appia. It contained this sarcophagus (now in the Vatican Museum), and those of a son of Barbatus and a son of the great Scipio Africanus. The inscription, which is in ancient Saturnian verse, calls him Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus ('the bearded') and records his victories over Samnites and Lucanians. In the vault were discovered many inscribed tablets and also the bust, which may be that of the poet Ennius; for Cicero says that his bust was placed in the tomb of the Scipios. On account of its bay-wreath others regard it as a Scipio who was a priest of the Delphic Apollo and keeper of the Sibylline Books. *Photo Anderson.*

### 32. PONS MILVIUS

22

Ponte Milvio, or Ponte Molle. Much restored in 1805; but the four middle arches are antique. The bridge crosses the Tiber about a mile and a half north of the Porta del Popolo. First built probably when the Via Flaminia was made (220 B.C.). Restored by Aem. Scaurus in 109 B.C. Celebrated for the battle between Maxentius and Constantine the Great (A.D. 312), depicted on Constantine's Arch and also in the famous Vatican fresco by Raphael, or Giulio Romano. Also spelt 'Mulvius.' *Photo Anderson.*

### 33. LAKE TRASIMENUS (THRASYMENE)

22.

Looking south from vicinity of Passignano (Plate 34). The scene of the battle lies out of sight to the left. The islands are Maggiore and Polvese. *Photo Brogi.*

### 34. PASSIGNANO, LAKE TRASIMENUS

22<sup>1</sup>

Looking north-west. In the background are the steep hills between which and the lake the battle took place. *Photo Alinari.*

### 35. HANNIBAL (?)

23.

Found near Naples, and now in the Museo Nazionale. The type of face and the unusual form of the casque seem to indicate a non-Roman warrior, and there is a considerable possibility that the bust is meant to represent Hannibal, though it can hardly be a genuine portrait. As a work of art the head is fine, but evidently late. (The hollowed pupils intimate post-Hadrian workmanship.) *Photo Alinari.*

### 36. SYRACUSE

View toward the south-west from the Greek Theatre, which lay on the slope of the Neapolis quarter of the old city. In front is the modern city, occupying the whole of Ortygia (Fount Arethusa is toward the southern end

## PLEBS AND POPULUS

contested by the patricians, who held that a plebeian magistrate had no jurisdiction outside his own class. We see this strongly brought out in the story of Coriolanus, which, overlaid as it is by legend and distorted by the inventions of patrician pride, contains a valuable germ of historic truth and illustrates the kind of party warfare which was constantly going on in the city-states of Greece and Italy. The proud patrician was broken by the storm of popular fury and driven into exile. And in the years which followed his fate was shared by the most distinguished members of his class, great soldiers and powerful statesmen, who were condemned by the popular tribunal to banishment, confiscation, or death. If we had before us a full and faithful history of these times, we should probably know with certainty that among the Romans, as among the Greeks, there was always a class of political exiles, watching every turn of events from a distance, and ready to seize the first opportunity of turning the tables on their opponents. Such is in all likelihood the true explanation of the story of Coriolanus, and of the later attempt made by Appius Herdonius, the forerunner of Catiline,<sup>1</sup> who fifty years after the fall of the kings placed himself at the head of a band of exiles, clients, and runaway slaves, and got possession of the Capitol, from which he was only expelled after a desperate struggle.

Two points of capital importance, the inviolability of the tribunes and their right to impeach, were thus established. The next step was to organize the mixed multitude of plebeians into an independent body, which might act with promptitude and effect under its lawful leaders. This brings us to one of the most obscure and doubtful questions in Roman constitutional history. According to the view now generally held, the plebeians had hitherto been mustered in curies, and the first tribunes are said to have been elected by them. But the old curiate assembly was subject to the influence of the patricians,<sup>2</sup> and they, with their dependents, were often able to secure the election of tribunes favourable to themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, ii. 56.

## REPUBLICAN ROME

To meet this objection it was proposed to employ the tribal unit for the reconstruction of the plebeian assembly, and in spite of the furious outcry of Appius Claudius, the great champion of patrician arrogance, the measure was carried. Henceforth the plebeians met and voted, not by curies, but by tribes, which were now twenty-one in number, and in this way a third Parliament was added to the complicated political machinery of Rome.

### A NEW CONSTITUTION

Thus within the course of one generation a new constitution had grown up side by side with the old. It was a state within a state, with its own magistrates, its own assembly, and its own methods of procedure. The tribunate developed on parallel lines with the consulship, encroaching, as it advanced, on the functions of the supreme patrician magistrate. It was a wedge inserted into the compact structure of time-honoured privilege, and driven farther and farther home by successive blows, until it rent the whole solid fabric asunder. After the union of the orders the office of tribune changed its character altogether, and became a convenient party instrument for controlling the turbulent mob of Rome. But this change belongs to a much later date.

It must not be supposed that the patricians remained passive spectators of this momentous revolution. Every art of political chicanery and every mode of intimidation, cajolery, and corruption was employed to check the progress of democratic aggression. Sometimes the meetings of the plebeians were broken up by bands of riotous young nobles, who mingled with the crowd, insulted the speakers, and often went the length of open violence. At other times subtler methods were employed, and the patricians abused the advantages given them by rank and wealth to work upon the weakness or the necessities of their opponents. And on one occasion at least they did not shrink from using the weapon of assassination. Twenty years after the first secession of the plebeians a tribune named Genucius, who had tried to carry an obnoxious

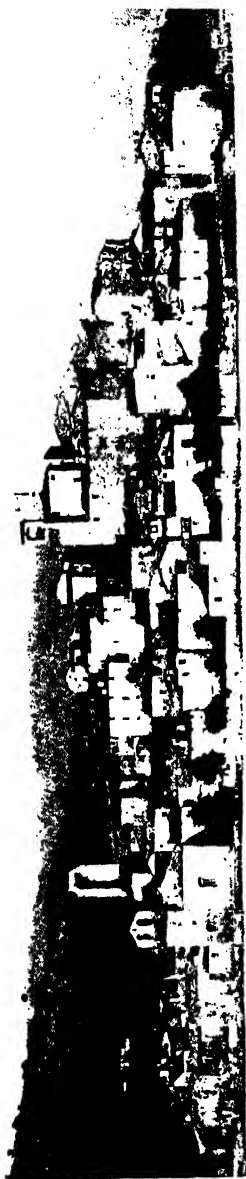


PLATE XXXIV. PASIGNANO, LAKE TRASIMENE, THIRASMENE





## PLEBS AND POPULUS

measure, was found murdered in his bed. The peculiar character which belonged to all the Roman magistracies placed another means of obstruction in their hands. For the tribunes, if they were to carry any project to a successful issue, were obliged to act unanimously, as the dissent of one member of their college was sufficient to quash the whole proceeding. And when their numbers were successively raised from two to five and from five to ten it became easy for the patricians to win over one or more of the members to their side.

On the other hand, the tribunes had the power, by interposing the veto, of causing serious embarrassment to the executive. When danger threatened from without they could stop the levies, and thus leave Rome exposed to the attacks of her enemies. Lastly, the haughtiest patrician knew by repeated examples that if he went too far he would incur the risk of impeachment, and pay for his presumption by the loss of his property, his country, or his life.

Thus the strange conflict swayed to and fro for many generations, but at the end of each crisis the plebeians always gained some new concession. There were doubtless cases of injustice and of actual outrage on both sides ; on the whole, however, this long constitutional struggle was singularly free from the cruelty and ferocity which mark the later history of Republican Rome.

### TENURE OF THE LAND

It has already been explained that the tribunate owed its origin to the depressed condition of the small farmers, and we must now go back a little and speak more at large of a question which came up again and again down to the last century of the Republic, the question of the tenure of land. The welfare of Rome depended greatly on the maintenance of a numerous, a prosperous, and a contented rural population ; but all efforts to secure the permanence of this condition were thwarted by the selfish greed of the nobles. A certain portion of the Roman territory, varying in extent, was owned by the State, and this was either allotted in small parcels to

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needy plebeians, rented for pasture, or assigned for regular occupation at an easy rent. In the case last mentioned the State never relinquished its hold on the land—the tenant never became, in the eyes of the law, a freeholder. But as a matter of practice lands thus rented from the State were treated in all respects as private property, passed from father to son, or changed hands by ordinary process of sale. The whole administration of these public lands lay, of course, with the patricians, and this gave ample scope for that sort of jobbery which in all ages marks the transactions of privileged corporations.

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### SPURIUS CASSIUS

Among the great nobles who stood at the head of affairs there was always a small minority, consisting of those who are designated by an eminent modern historian<sup>1</sup> Reform Lords, men of large and liberal views, who sympathized with the wrongs of the plebeians, and wished to conciliate them by yielding to all righteous claims. One of the most distinguished of these was Spurius Cassius, whose true nobility of character has received tardy recognition after centuries of calumny. The tribunate, as we have seen, had failed in its primary object, the relief of the poorer agriculturists. Cassius, while holding the office of consul (486 B.C.), proposed a measure which was designed to cope with the old grievance. Certain new territories, recently acquired by conquest, were to be parcelled out in freehold lots to indigent plebeians. If Cassius had stopped here he might have succeeded. But he went farther, and tried to meddle with those parts of the public lands which had long been regarded by the patricians as their own private possessions; and, not content with this, he proposed to give the Latin allies of Rome a share in the new distribution of territory. By attempting too much he wrecked his whole scheme and brought ruin on himself. The patricians were enraged by his interference with their monopoly, and the plebeians viewed with jealousy the proposed admission of the Latins to a share of the coveted prize. This feeling was

<sup>1</sup> Ihne.

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craftily fanned by the patricians, and they raised the ominous cry, which proved fatal to many a Roman patriot, "He would make himself a king." All classes were thus united against Cassius, and at the end of his year of office he was prosecuted as a public enemy and condemned to die the death of a traitor. In the last age of the Republic his name was still branded with infamy, and Cicero mentions him among those who suffered the just penalty of a criminal ambition.

### MYSTERY OF THE LAW

A new stage in the long contest between patricians and plebeians is marked by the proposal of the tribune Terentilius to appoint a commission to draw up a code of laws with the object of defining and restricting the judicial powers of the consuls (462 B.C.). Up to this time the law had been a mystery, the knowledge of which was preserved by oral tradition in the colleges of priests, who acted as legal advisers to the patrician magistrates. This would naturally lead to all sorts of manipulation and sharp practice, and as the people had no written standard for testing the administration of the law by its official interpreters, they were left at the mercy of those who had every motive for abusing their trust. But the times were not yet ripe for so important a reform, and a ten years' struggle ensued, during which every feature which marks the long war between the orders was renewed—on the side of the plebeians refusal to enlist, insubordination in the field, and an unscrupulous use of the weapon of impeachment, and intrigue, corruption, and open violence on the part of the patricians. One incident may be singled out for special mention as illustrating the manners of the time. A young noble, Kaeso Quintius, son of the famous Cincinnatus, had made himself conspicuous in a riot which was raised by him and a band of kindred spirits, to break up a meeting of the popular assembly. He was summoned to stand his trial, and in the course of the proceedings a witness came forward with a story of lawless outrage which made his conviction certain. The witness, a former tribune, stated that some

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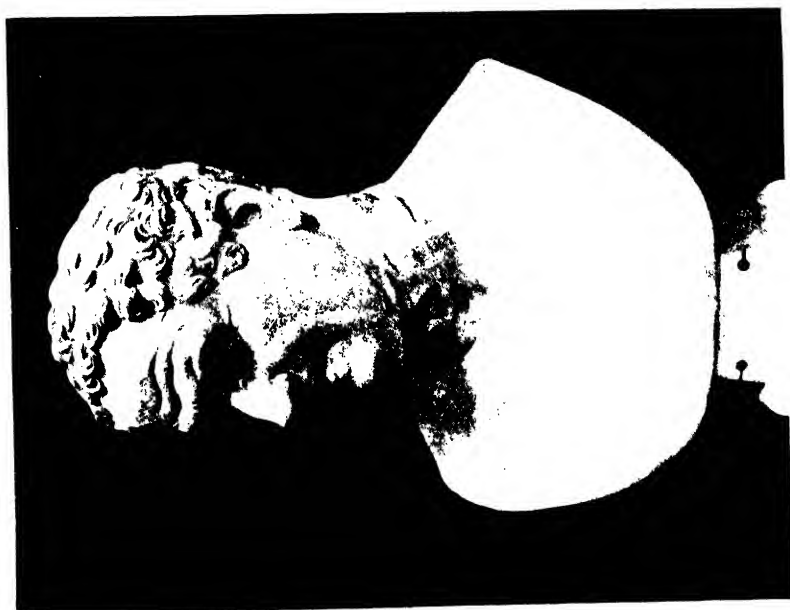
time before, when a pestilence was raging in Rome, he had met the young Quintius, with others of his own class, in the Subura, a populous district in the heart of the city, where they were behaving in a disorderly manner and molesting the passers-by. A brawl arose, and the witness's own brother, an elderly man, was so brutally beaten by Quintius that he died soon afterwards. "Year after year," concluded the ex-tribune significantly, "I applied to the consuls for redress, but they refused to listen to my case." The charge was afterwards proved to be false, but the case, like that of Virginia, is doubtless typical of the social tyranny which was practised by the patricians, aggravating the strife of parties, and inflaming the feelings of the plebeians by a sense of private wrong. Ages later, in the days of Juvenal,<sup>1</sup> the street-bully was still a familiar figure in the most frequented parts of Rome. It must be added that the calumny served its immediate purpose, for Quintius was sentenced to pay a heavy fine, and his father, Cincinnatus, was reduced to poverty by defraying the charge.

### THE DECENVIRATE

The tribunes, whose number had now been raised to ten, held fast to their purpose, and at length the patricians, whose obstinacy was shaken by the constant terror of impeachment, consented to adopt some measure of legislative reform. The proposal of Terentilius, which aimed merely at limiting the consular jurisdiction, was now laid aside, and it was resolved to carry out a complete revision and codification of public and private law. As a preliminary step, commissioners were sent to examine the existing codes in the chief cities of Greece, and on their return a board of ten was appointed, whose members were to hold supreme authority for one year, superseding all other magistrates, and devoting themselves to the task of settling for all time a fixed standard of justice. The new magistrates bore the title of Decenvirs, and the leading spirit among them was Appius Claudius,<sup>2</sup> who had dropped his former character of an uncompromising oligarch and seemed to live only by

<sup>1</sup> *Satires*, iii. and xvi.

<sup>2</sup> Nephew of the Claudius mentioned above.





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the breath of popular favour.<sup>1</sup> Each of the decemvirs took his turn to administer justice for one day, attended, on that occasion only, by twelve lictors, with their bundles of rods.

### THE TWELVE TABLES

Everything went smoothly during the first year of the decemvirate, and ten tables of the law were drawn up and exhibited for the inspection and criticism of all comers. In due course the new code was ratified by the votes of the centuriate assembly, and henceforth remained as the fountain of public and private right. At the end of the year it was found that two tables were still wanting to complete the code, and Appius, whose assumption of disinterested patriotism had been merely a cloak to hide his real purpose, now showed himself in his true character. Having contrived by unworthy arts to get himself elected on the new board, he filled up its numbers with his own creatures, all men of little mark, and three of them plebeians. Then he gave rein to his natural propensities, and the second year of the decemvirate was rendered infamous by every species of wrong and violence. All the familiar incidents of a Greek tyranny were now enacted within the walls of Rome, aggravated by the circumstance that in Rome there were ten tyrants instead of one. And every day the Romans could see their new masters parading the Forum, attended by a hundred and twenty lictors, who carried their axes within the sacred precinct, as a visible symbol that the sovereign rights of the people had passed to their oppressors.

The year drew toward its close, and the two remaining tables were completed and published. No exception was taken to their contents, and they were afterwards formally sanctioned and added to the Roman Corpus Juris. But when it became evident that Appius and his gang intended to remain in office and rivet the chains of tyranny on their countrymen the spirit of the nation was roused to resistance. Two famous instances of injustice, the murder of the brave centurion Dentatus and the outrage attempted against Virginia, a

<sup>1</sup> Livy, iii. 32.



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beautiful plebeian maiden, at length drove the people to open revolt, and the second decemvirate was overthrown. The detested Appius escaped the axe of the executioner by a voluntary death, and the partners of his crimes were driven into exile.

We have passed lightly over these famous events, partly because they are too well known to be recounted in detail and partly because the real history of these times is involved in impenetrable obscurity. What were the true motives of Appius, whether, as Livy would have us believe, he was a hypocrite who courted the popular favour with the design of making himself a tyrant, or whether, as Ihne asserts, he was a genuine patriot, whose merits were buried under a heap of calumny by those of his own order, cannot now be determined. It will be more profitable to bestow a glance on the remaining fragments of the Twelve Tables and see what they can teach us respecting the life and manners of the Romans under the old Republic. It should perhaps be observed that these curious remnants cannot be regarded as genuine monuments, of early Latin, having been repeatedly edited and modernized by the writers who preserved them. In substance, however, they are undoubtedly genuine.

### DEBTOR LAW

The most valuable of the extracts are those relating to debtor and creditor, and by putting them together we are enabled to obtain some vivid glimpses of primitive society in Rome. Once more the veil is rent which hides from us a remote antiquity, and we follow the Roman Shylock as he goes on the track of his unhappy victim. The time of grace is past, a summons has been served on the debtor, and he has neglected to obey the call. Then forth issues the angry creditor determined to pursue his claim to the utmost limit allowed by the law. He finds his man in the Forum, or in the busy hive of the Subura, and calls upon a passer-by to bear witness that he is compelled to use force in asserting his right. Permission being granted, he plucks him by the ear,<sup>1</sup> and utters the

<sup>1</sup> Horace, *Satires*, I, ix. 76.

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word "Remember!" to signify that he will call him to give evidence in case of necessity. After these preliminaries he proceeds to the formal act of arrest, and the debtor, seeing his intention, tries to trip him up,<sup>1</sup> but he is overpowered and dragged off to the court. Or it may be that the debtor is bedridden with age or sickness, and in that case the creditor is required by law to provide a vehicle, and if he is more than usually humane he may even spread a pallet in the cart to save the bones of the unfortunate wretch; this, however, was not insisted on. But, sick or sound, old or young, the insolvent debtor is now within the clutches of the law, and has to stand his trial.

Every precaution was taken to give litigants the full benefit of the statute and guard against unseemly haste. If judge, plaintiff, or defendant was detained elsewhere by important business, or completely disabled by sickness, or if any witness was not forthcoming when required, the case was adjourned. The missing witness was summoned by going to his house and shouting his name aloud before the door. After all forms had been satisfied and the case had been fairly heard the judge proceeded to pass sentence, and if the fact of the loan was clearly established thirty days were still allowed for payment. At the end of this time, if the money had not been paid, the defaulter was once more brought before the judge, and unless some responsible person offered bail he was assigned to his creditor, who carried him to his house and kept him in bonds, providing him, if necessary, with food, at the rate of a pound of meal a day. The debtor remained in durance for sixty days, and the creditor was obliged to produce him in court on the last three market-days falling within that period, to give opportunity for his friends or relations to redeem him. Then at last, if no one intervened to save him, the bond was declared forfeit, and his person was handed over to the absolute discretion of his creditor. Or if there were more than one creditor they might cut him in pieces and divide the portions among them. "And if any creditor," adds the

<sup>1</sup> I venture to suggest this version of *pedem struit* (*Bein stellen*), the meaning of which has been much disputed.

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law with grim precision, "should cut more than his share, it shall not be reckoned against him."

Such was the law of debt in ancient Rome, as stated in a code which was drawn up specially to meet the demands of plebeians ; and as no complaint was raised against it on the ground of undue harshness we must conclude that all classes acquiesced in this iron standard of civil obligation.

### SCOPE OF THE TWELVE TABLES

The laws of the Twelve Tables cover the whole field of public and private life, entering with minute precision into every circumstance which could give occasion for dispute. In cases of severe bodily injury the old barbarous law of retaliation, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," was clearly affirmed. The penalties against witchcraft remind us of the savage statutes which formerly disgraced the penal code of England. In the laws regulating the conduct of funerals we recognize the stern gravity of the Roman character, which condemned every form of idle ostentation and all violent display of emotion. Women are forbidden to tear their cheeks or cry the *lessus* over their dead. No gold is to be buried with a corpse, except that which is used in dentistry. With this very human touch, which seems for a moment to bring these antique people near to ourselves, we may conclude our brief notice of the earliest monument of Roman jurisprudence.

### VALERIO-HORATIAN LAWS

The first consuls appointed after the fall of the decemvirs were Valerius and Horatius, who gave their name to certain important measures passed immediately afterwards in favour of the plebeians. The first of these declared that henceforth all resolutions carried in the plebeian assembly were to be binding on the whole people. Such resolutions, however, must have been confined for a long time after to matters only affecting the plebeians, and the law was not intended to give to the tribal assembly the general right of initiating legislation. The second forbade the creation of any magistrate without the



PLATE LXIII. DECUSSIS AND AS (c. 268 B.C.)



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right of appeal, and the third confirmed, with full legal sanction, the inviolability of all plebeian magistrates.

### CONSULAR TRIBUNES

Fortified by these new statutes, and led by their tribunes, who now for the first time obtained a bench at the door of the Senate House, the plebeians resumed with fresh vigour the fight for full political and social equality. Two years later (445 B.C.) a tribune, Canuleius, brought in a bill for removing the obnoxious barrier between the two orders by legalizing marriages between patricians and plebeians. At the same time the demand was put forward that the consulship should be thrown open to plebeian candidates. With regard to the former of these proposals, it must be remarked that the patricians claimed to be the sole interpreters of the divine will, ascertained by means of the auspices, and it was argued that a blending of the two orders would cut off the whole people from the favour of heaven. This objection, however, was overruled, and the bill of Canuleius became law. After this great victory it seemed as if the plebeian aspirant had only to put out his hand and seize the most coveted prize of political ambition. But by a series of skilful manœuvres the patricians contrived to delay the final issue for nearly eighty years. They began by proposing a new title for the supreme magistrates, that of Military Tribunes with Consular Power, who were to be chosen from both orders. This change was not intended to be permanent, and its object was to cool the ambition of plebeian candidates by lowering the dignity of the office. For the new magistracy, in spite of its name, was but a shadow of the consulship, and those who held it were cut off from several valued distinctions, such as the right of celebrating a triumph, the privilege of setting up waxen images of themselves in their houses (a sort of title of nobility), and the attainment of consular rank, which gave the right to speak in the Senate. But the leaders of the plebeians accepted the proposal, and for the greater part of a century consular tribunes continued to be appointed, in numbers varying from three to six. The

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consulship, however, was not suspended, and during all this period consuls were appointed from time to time. Greatly inferior as it was in splendour, the newly created office remained in the hands of the patricians, and more than forty years elapsed before the first plebeian consular tribune was elected.

### CENSORS

Two years later the patricians, in pursuance of the same policy, curtailed the power of the consuls in another direction, by taking from them the duty of holding the census and the control of finance. These departments were now assigned to two magistrates, appointed for the purpose, who were called Censors, and held office for five years, though this term was soon afterwards reduced to a year and a half. The powers of the censors gradually increased until they extended to a sort of inquisitorial jurisdiction over the lives and manners of Roman citizens, corresponding in this respect to the Council of Areopagus at Athens. The office thus became invested with peculiar dignity, so that it was regarded as the crowning honour of a public career.<sup>1</sup> For the present, however, its functions were strictly limited, and for three generations the censors remained true to the traditions of their order as the jealous watch-dogs of patrician privilege.

### QUAESTORS AND AEDILES

One or two points of detail must be added to complete this brief outline of Roman constitutional history during the first century of the Republic. As we have already seen, at the foundation of the consulship two officers called Quaestors were appointed, with duties connected with the administration of public money. Originally they were nominated by the consuls. On the analogy of this office two plebeian magistrates, called Aediles, were appointed when the tribunate was instituted, and these, under the tribunes, had special charge of the tables on which were inscribed the laws passed in the popular assemblies and the decrees of the Senate. This was a measure of precau-

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Cato Major*, c. 16.

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tion to guard these important documents against the risk of falsification at the hands of patricians. The number of the quaestors was subsequently raised to four, two of whom remained in the city, while the other two followed the consul in the field. At some time before this their appointment had been taken out of the hands of the consuls and transferred to the people; and at the close of the first century of the Republic we find the office occupied by a plebeian on three occasions in the same year.

### SPURIUS MAELIUS

While the plebeians were thus steadily advancing toward their goal, the old grievance which had given the first impulse to reform remained unabated. The experience of ages has shown that it is useless to apply a political remedy to an economic evil, and though all the barriers between class and class might be thrown down this could not check the rapacity of the rich or relieve the wants of the poor. Rich plebeian capitalists joined hands with the patricians in keeping a monopoly of the public lands and in opposing all measures for an equitable division, and the struggling farmer, driven by his necessities to borrow, saw himself threatened with bonds, slavery, and death. How bitterly the moneyed class resented any sign of sympathy with the suffering poor is seen in the case of Spurius Maelius, a wealthy knight, who in a time of scarcity gave a largess of corn to his hungry fellow-citizens. He was accused of aiming at the kingly power, and to meet the pretended crisis Cincinnatus was appointed dictator, with Servilius Ahala as his master of the horse. Next day Maelius, as he was walking in the Forum, received a summons to appear before the dictator and answer the charges against him, and when he demurred he was stabbed to death by Ahala before the eyes of the people. Spurius Cassius, Spurius Maelius, and the Gracchi are classed together by Cicero as traitors to their country, while Ahala takes rank in the eyes of the same writer with the "honourable men" who dyed their hands with the blood of Caesar.



## CHAPTER IV

### EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DOWN TO THE SACK OF ROME BY THE GAULS

**B**ETWEEN the expulsion of the kings and the disaster of the Allia a period of a hundred and twenty years elapsed, during which the Romans were engaged in continual fighting, first for their existence as a nation, and afterwards for the mastery in Latium and southern Etruria. Two years after the banishment of the Tarquins they were threatened with extinction by a formidable attack from the Etruscans, led by Lars Porsena of Clusium. That danger past, they were occupied for some time in irregular warfare with the Sabines. Then, seven years after the attempt of Porsena, they had to meet a coalition formed by thirty cities of Latium to restore the tyranny at Rome. So far the struggle had been for life and death ; but when the last effort of the Tarquins had been broken, and when the league between Rome and the Latins had been renewed on a fresh basis, affairs began slowly to assume a different aspect, and the Romans saw gradually opening before them the path which, after centuries of warfare, led them to universal dominion. Down to the middle of the fifth century progress was slow, and the young Republic drew its breath in the midst of perils. For the State was torn by faction, and the anxious watchers on the city walls, with the roar of the Forum in their ears, could see the smoke of burning farmsteads and armed bands of Aequians and Volscians harrying the fields outside. But after the fall of the decemvirs, and the legislative reforms which followed, civil feud, though not yet silenced, lost much of its bitterness, and a milder spirit began to prevail between the



PLATE XXXIV. PASSIGNANO, LAKE TRASIMENE'S TIRASMEÑE



## EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

rival orders. The effect was seen in the successes gained by the Roman arms during the next half-century, in the course of which they steadily advanced toward the supremacy of Latium and achieved their first great success against a foreign power by the capture of Veii. But this brilliant triumph was followed by an overwhelming disaster, for the Gauls swept down like a tempest from Etruria and Rome was burnt and her people were scattered. How the city rose again from its ashes and the Romans took up again the broken thread of their destiny will be told in the next chapter. We now proceed to relate more in detail the events which have thus been indicated in outline.

### LARS PORSENA

We have already observed that the Etruscans at the close of the sixth century were by far the greatest power in Italy. It is true that in the great northern plain between the Alps and the Apennines the Gauls had for some time been encroaching on their territory. But they still held command of the two seas which wash the eastern and western shores of the peninsula, and their possessions in Campania were as yet untouched. It is difficult, therefore, to avoid the conclusion that the expedition of Lars Porsena, which is commonly attributed to friendship for the Tarquins, was a deliberate attempt to fill up the awkward gap in the Etruscan dominions by effecting the conquest of Latium, thus uniting the whole western district of Italy, from the Arno to Vesuvius, in one solid system of empire. For we know that Rome was actually conquered by Porsena, who compelled the Romans to relinquish all their lands on the right bank of the Tiber, and to give up the use of iron except for purposes of agriculture. Yet in spite of this signal victory the Tarquins were not restored ; and we may set aside without hesitation the sentimental reasons which were afterwards invented by Roman annalists to account for this singular forbearance. Our knowledge of the facts is not sufficient to enable us to explain the sudden withdrawal of Porsena from Rome. But we read of the

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crushing defeat sustained under the walls of Aricia by his son Arruns, who had been sent to carry the war farther into Latium. After this the attempts of the Etruscans to extend their conquests south of the Tiber appear to have ceased.

### THE FABII

Twelve miles to the north of Rome, on an eminence between two affluents of the Tiber, was situated the wealthy and populous city of Veii, one of the heads of the ancient Etruscan league and the most important political centre in southern Etruria. Between Veii and Rome there was an ancient feud, dating from the earliest times of the kings, and we read of wars undertaken by Romulus and Tullus Hostilius for the possession of Fidenæ, a town with a mixed Latin and Etruscan population, commanding the bridge over the Tiber. Some twenty years after the retreat of Porsena, at a time when they were constantly harassed by raids of the Aequians and Volscians, the Romans found themselves involved in a war with their ancient enemy. It lasted nine years, and with it is connected the famous legend of the Fabii. This illustrious house, which traced its descent from Hercules, was long the staunchest pillar of patrician privilege, and for seven successive years a Fabius was elected to the consulship. The persistent opposition of the Fabii to all proposals for agrarian reform excited the bitter enmity of the plebeians, which rose to such a pitch that on one occasion when with much difficulty an army had been raised for carrying on the war against Veii the soldiers serving under Kaeso Fabius refused to follow up a flying enemy, grudging their general the honour of a triumph.<sup>1</sup> Two years later, however, we find a total change in the policy of the Fabii, and the same Kaeso who had been betrayed in the field, being again elected consul, urged the Senate to carry out the proposals of Spurius Cassius. His advice was rejected, and the Fabii, finding that they had become unpopular with their own class, resolved to leave Rome and maintain the war against Veii by holding a fortified post in the enemy's country.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, ii. 43.

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## PREFACE

‘**A**S early as the time of Cicero and Varro,’ says Gibbon, ‘it was the opinion of the Roman augurs that the *twelve vultures* which Romulus had seen represented the *twelve centuries* assigned for the fatal period of his city.’ This prophecy, as we learn from writers of the age, such as the poet Claudian, filled men’s minds with gloomy apprehensions when the twelfth century of Rome’s existence was drawing to its close, and ‘even posterity must acknowledge with some surprise that the interpretation of an accidental or fabulous circumstance has been seriously verified by the downfall of the Western Empire.’

The traditional date of the founding of Rome is 753 B.C., and if we hold that its Empire ended with the capture of the city by the Vandal Gaiseric and the death of Valentinian III, the last Emperor of the great Theodosian dynasty, both of which events occurred in A.D. 455, the fulfilment of the prediction will certainly appear surprising. Nor need it wholly shatter our faith in ancient auguries if we feel compelled to defer the date of the final downfall for some twenty-one years, during which brief period no less than nine so-called Emperors assumed the purple : one the assassin of Valentinian, the next the nominee of the Visigoth king at Arles, five others the puppets of the barbarian general Ricimer, another an obscure palace official elected by a Burgundian noble, and the ninth the son of a Pannonian soldier in Attila’s army—the ‘inoffensive youth,’ as Gibbon calls him, who had inherited or assumed the high-sounding names of Romulus Augustus (derisively or pityingly belittled into Momullus Augustulus), and whom in 476 the barbarian Odovacar deposed and with contemptuous

## MEDIEVAL ITALY

generosity allowed to retire to spacious and luxurious imprisonment in the villa built by Marius and adorned by Lucullus on the heights that overlook the bays of Baiae and Naples.

This date, 476, is generally accepted as that which marks the end of the history of ancient Rome and the beginning of Italian history. Nevertheless the 'Roman' Empire is considered by some writers to have continued its existence under the Eastern Emperors, if not for nigh a thousand years, till the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, anyhow for more than 300 years, until its usurpation by a woman—that inhuman wretch, the pious Irene. This event, according to such writers, justified the Romans in reviving by papal unction the imperial dignity in the person of the Frank monarch Charles the Great. This revived Empire, which went on existing in a fashion till the death of Henry VII in 1313 (when all real connexion with Italy ceased), or lasted even, some would say, till the abdication of Francis II in 1806, was of course a fiction; but the belief in the so-styled 'Holy Roman Empire' was a fact which much influenced medieval history, and therefore cannot be ignored by the historian. However, whatever arguments may be adduced in support of these various views, it is simpler and more reasonable to hold that the ancient Roman Empire—that is, the world-wide Imperium of which Rome herself was the metropolis—if it did not come to an end when Constantine *si fecit Greco* and transferred the imperial seat from Rome to Byzantium, or when the last Theodosian Emperor was murdered in Rome shortly before the arrival of the Vandal Gaiseric, did certainly suffer final extinction when, in 476, the barbarian Odovacar deposed the boy-emperor Romulus Augustulus and assumed the powers, if not the title, of a King of Italy.

We may therefore assume that the history of medieval Italy begins from the year 476. After that date Italy was only temporarily and indirectly connected with that Eastern Empire which some would persuade us to call the 'Later Roman' Empire, but which, seeing that 'Constantinopolitan' is a long word, I think we had better call 'Byzantine'—

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## P R E F A C E

especially as the word possesses a sufficient flavour of Orientalism to be useful as a distinguishing term in questions of art as well as of history.

It is true that for a certain period this Byzantine Empire did re-establish its sovereignty over Rome (which it regarded as merely a provincial town of its Italian diocese) and over almost the whole of the peninsula, and that for centuries it retained its supremacy in some important Italian cities and districts—the Exarchate and the southern *marina* especially—so that at times we shall be much occupied by the presence of Byzantines in Italy. It is also true that the Byzantine rulers claimed to be, and were often acknowledged to be, ‘Roman’ Emperors.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it must be allowed that the history of this so-called Eastern Empire in its later stages—with its Greek, Syrian, Armenian, Macedonian, Latin, Flemish, and French monarchs and dynasties and with its wealthy and luxurious Oriental offshoots known as the ‘Empires’ of Nicaea and Trebizond—is exceedingly picturesque and interesting.

Nevertheless, seeing that our subject is Italy and not Byzantium, it will be better to assume that the real Roman Empire ended with the deposition of the last successor of Augustus at Rome in 476, and to limit our attention after that date almost wholly to Italy, casting only now and then a glance across the Adriatic.

But, although the history of medieval Italy may be said to begin its main course from this date, I have thought it advisable to go back to the age of Constantine in order to trace from their early origins certain religious, political, artistic, and literary characteristics, as well as to be able to relate more fully and consecutively the story of the barbarian invasions. After this has been done there will remain the still more difficult task of showing how amid all these diverse elements and forces began to work that new spirit which after so many

<sup>1</sup> But the Caroling Louis II had much reason on his side when, in answer to a contemptuous letter of the Byzantine Emperor Basil, he asserted that the Eastern ‘Emperors’ were no *Imperatores Romanorum*, and justified his own claim to the imperial office (as Charles the Great used to do) by appealing to the case of David.

## MEDIEVAL ITALY

centuries has in our days at length evolved an Italian nation. My subject, which extends to the first dawn of the new art and literature, covers the space of a thousand years, and it would be a most wearisome and unprofitable task if I were to attempt to crowd my pages with the innumerable persons that move in such rapid succession, and in such intricate and swiftly changing groups, across the ever-varying scenes of these ten centuries. Even in the spacious and luminous narrative of Gibbon the reader who has not ample leisure and rare perseverance must often despair of finding his way amid the labyrinthine mazes of barbarian invasions and religious discords, or of following continuously the drama of the Empire—a drama so complicated that on more than one occasion no less than *six* Emperors appear together on the stage.

With limited space and such a vast amount of detail before him, he who wishes to give something better than a dry catalogue of names and events must devise some method which, while it allows him to present in a connected narrative whatever historical facts may seem essential, will also permit him to treat other matters of importance in a less formal and statistical fashion—to fill in with a free hand, so to speak, the bare historical outline.

The plan that I have adopted is to prefix to each of the five parts into which my subject naturally divides itself a brief account of the political events of the period in question. These summaries, together with various tables and lists, will enable the reader to frame, or perhaps I should say to arrange in chronological order and perspective, the contents of those chapters in which with a freer hand I sketch certain interesting episodes and personalities, endeavouring by means of quotation and description to add a little in the way of local colour and portraiture.

I have thus been able to avoid interrupting my narrative by disquisitions on architecture, literature, and art, and have relegated what I had to say on these subjects to supplementary chapters.

Any fairly full list of the multitudinous writers on the history,  
viii

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the art, and the literature of Italy during the period covered by this volume would need more space than I can spare, and if the titles of their works were added a large number of pages would be required. I shall therefore only mention a few old and recent acquaintances to whom I owe especial thanks, and whom I can recommend for further information. I have not thought it necessary to give any names of the almost innumerable compilers of local handbooks, authoritative or amateur.

Balzani (*Cronache it. del Med. Evo*); Boëthius (*De Cons. Phil.*); Bryce; Capelletti; Cassiodorus (and Jordanes; also his *Letters*, edited by Hodgkin); Compagni (Dino); Crowe and Cavalcaselle; Engel et Serrure (*Numismatique du Moyen Age*); Eusebius; Ferrero; Gaspari (*Scuola Poet. Sicil.*); Gibbon; Gregorovius (*Gesch. Stadt Rom*); Gregory the Great; Hodgkin (*Italy and her Invaders*); Sir T. G. Jackson (*Romanesque Architecture*); Jordanes (*Hist. Goth.*); Kugler; *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne); Machiavelli (*Istorie Fior.*); Mothes (*Baukunst d. Mittelalters*); Muratori; Paulus Diaconus (*Hist. Lomb.*); Priscus; Ricci (especially on Ravenna); Rivoira (*Orig. dell' Arch. Lomb.*); Rotari (*Editto*); St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*); Sismondi; Symonds; Villani (Giov.); Wroth (*Brit. Mus. Catal. Goth. and Lomb. Coins*).

The *Invasioni barbariche* and *L'Italia da Carlo Magno alla Morte di Arrigo VII* of S.F. Professor Pasquale Villari I have found very pleasant and useful guides through the mazes of political events and biographical details.

My thanks are due to the Delegates of the Oxford Press for allowing me to make use of my little volume of *Selections from Dante's Inferno*, published just forty years ago.

In the List of Illustrations, where the necessary information is given about the pictures, due acknowledgment is made of permission to make use of photographs, etc. Some of the line engravings inserted in the text I copied from my own notebooks, some from old books or photographs.

In regard to the coins, it gives me pleasure to repeat here my thanks that are due to Mr. J. Allan, of the British Museum.



## MEDIEVAL ITALY

For my first four maps I have accepted in the main the political divisions given in Professor Villari's *Invasioni barbariche*; the fifth is (with permission) founded on a map published by the Cambridge University Press to illustrate the *Cambridge Medieval History*.

Perhaps it may be well to add that I am aware that nobody can express opinions on subjects such as medieval architecture without exposing himself to a *fulciata* from various quarters.

H. B. COTTERILL

ROME, April 1915

P.S. A note on the Papal Tiara has been most kindly sent me by Professor Villari. As it has arrived too late to be inserted in the List of Illustrations, I append here a translation of the more important passages:

"The tiara probably came from the East. . . . The Jewish High Priest's tiara had three crowns. . . . It is certain that the *tiara* adopted by the Popes represents the temporal power, whereas the *mitre* represents the spiritual. The rites used in placing the episcopal mitre on a Pope's head and in placing the tiara are different. The tiara (also called the *regnum*) had first one crown, then two, and then three. The tiara with three crowns was called the *triregnum*. The crowns have been said to symbolize the Church militant, tribulant, and triumphant, or the Trinity, or else the three theological virtues; but such interpretations are fantastic. . . . After 1059 the tiara is often mentioned. It may be said to appear [as natural] with the programme of Gregory VII [Hildebrand]. After some years of his pontificate Boniface VIII added a second crown [evidently after 1299; see explanation of Fig. 50], but it is difficult to say who added the third. Some think it was Urban V [1362, at Avignon], and some fancy that the motive was to imitate the High Priest of the Jews. I have heard of the hypothesis that the first crown symbolized the papal sovereignty over the Patrimony of St. Peter, and the other two the sovereignty which the Popes pretended to have over the kingdoms of Apulia and Sicily. This hypothesis might have been suggested by the fact that in some of the oldest tiaras with three crowns there is a single crown above, while below the two others are united, the lower being upside down."

Some further details are given by Gregorovius. See vol. i, pp. 812, 829, and vol. ii, pp. 653, 673, of the splendidly illustrated Italian edition of his *History of the City of Rome*. On p. 489 of vol. i will be found a photograph of the statue of Gregory the Great (said to have been begun by Michelangelo) where the tiara has three crowns--which is of course a blunder. Gregorovius says that the original tiara was a conical head-dress made of white peacock feathers.

H. B. C.

VIAREGGIO, May 1915

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*The names of those to whom the author is indebted for permission to use copyright photographs are printed in italic.*

FIG.

### 1. DANTE

#### *Frontispiece*

Bronze bust. Naples, Musco Nazionale. The face perhaps copied from the Bargello mask, which is said to have been taken after death. In any case a very fine work and a most satisfactory representation of what one hopes the poet of the *Divina Commedia* looked like. The much-restored Bargello fresco, originally perhaps by Giotto, presents rather the lover of Beatrice and the writer of the *Vita Nuova*. *Photo Brogi.*

### 2. BATTLE AT SAXA RUBRA

4

Part of the Arch of Constantine, Rome. The central rude and grotesque relief, dating from about 312, represents the battle at Saxa Rubra, near the Milvian Bridge, where Maxentius was drowned. See pp. 3, 40. Note above the much finer sculptures of the age of Trajan and the Antonines. See p. 260. In a *Stanza* of the

# MEDIEVAL ITALY

FIG.

PAGE

Vatican there is a celebrated fresco of the same scene, designed by Raffael and painted by Giulio Romano. *Photo Anderson.*

## 3. BUSTS OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT AND JULIAN 50

Uffizi, Florence, and Capitol Museum, Rome. For Constantine's curls and finery, see p. 51 *n.* The Julian bust is doubtful, the inscription being medieval. *Photos Brogi.*

## 4. S. PAOLO FUORI LE MURA, ROME 58

Founded in 388 by Theodosius and Valentinian II. (See p. 58 and under 'Churches' in Index.) Burnt down, except the choir and apse, in 1823. The reconstruction (1824-54) on the old lines is very impressive, and the more modern character of some of the alterations does not prevent the edifice from being one of the grandest basilicas in existence. *Photo Alinari.*

## 5. S. MARIA MAGGIORE, ROME 68

See p. 67 *n.* and Index under 'Churches.' *Photo Anderson.*

## 6. PULPIT, S. AMBROGIO, MILAN 80

With the so-called tomb of Stilicho. As he was killed at Ravenna (p. 80) it is unlikely that he was buried here. The sarcophagus dates probably from about 500. The ancient Lombard pulpit was removed about 1150, during restorations, and re-erected in later Romanesque style, etc., about 1200. Some of the quaint reliefs may date from 800, or even 500. *Photo Alinari.*

## 7. MAUSOLEUM OF GALLA PLACIDIA, RAVENNA 90

See pp. 91, 260, 271. The middle sarcophagus is that of the Empress. Those to right and left (the latter invisible) are supposed to be the tombs of her husband, Constantius III, and her son, Valentinian III. *Photo Alinari.*

## 8. POPE LEO AND ATTLA 102

Fresco by Raffael in one of the *Stanze* of the Vatican. See p. 102. Raffael transfers the scene to the vicinity of Rome (Colosseum in background) and gives Leo I the features of Leo X (*cf.* Fig. 29). For Attila's personal appearance, see p. 96. Note that SS. Peter and Paul are seen only by the flanks. In St. Peter's, over the altar of Leo I, there is a theatrical relief by Algardi (*c.* 1650) representing the same scene. *Reproduction, with permission, of a heliotype in the 'Rafael-werk,' published by E. Arnold (Gulbier), Dresden.*

# PART I

## HISTORICAL OUTLINE

305-476

**I**N 305 Diocletian abdicated and forced Maximian, a Pannonian soldier whom twenty years before he had elected as his imperial colleague (*i.e.* as an 'Augustus'), to do the same. He then left the Empire to Constantius Chlorus and to Galerius, who had been hitherto only 'Caesars,' that is heirs-apparent to the purple. As new 'Caesars' were elected Severus and Maximin.

Constantius in earlier life had married Helena, possibly of British birth, by whom he had a son, afterwards Constantine the Great. When elected a Caesar (293) he had been compelled to put aside Helena and to marry Theodora, daughter of the Emperor Maximian; and the young Constantine, probably feeling humiliated, had preferred to serve as soldier in the far East instead of remaining with his father, who was in command of Gaul and Britain. But fifteen months after his election as Emperor of the West Constantius died at York, and his son Constantine, who had travelled in great haste from Nicomedia in Bithynia to join his father on his expedition against the Caledonians, was saluted by the army at York as Augustus and Imperator.

Galerius had fancied that he would become sole Emperor on the death of Constantius, but when Constantine sent him notice of his election he was obliged to dissemble his rage and grudgingly allowed him the title of Caesar, while he advanced Severus to the dignity of an Augustus and assigned him the province of Italy.

But Maxentius, son of old Maximian (who with impotent



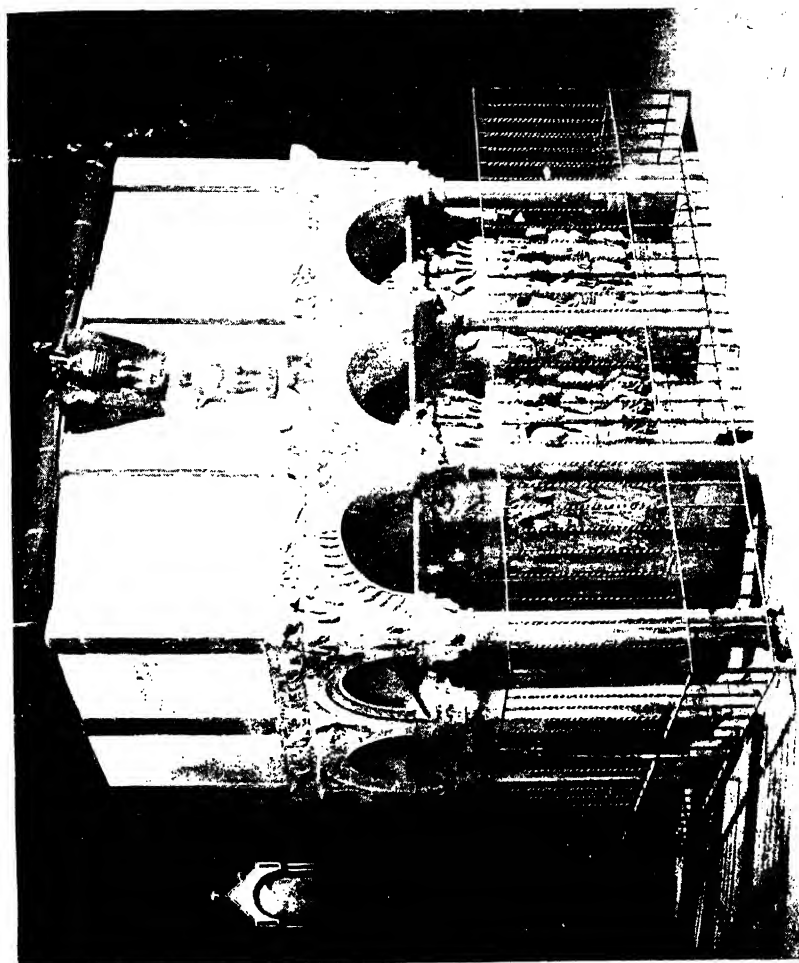
## MEDIEVAL ITALY

resentment had been sulking in obscurity since his abdication), now raises the standard of revolt at Rome, and Severus takes flight to Ravenna, where he capitulates and is forced to put himself to death. Old Maximian visits Constantine in Gaul in order to explain and negotiate, and takes with him his daughter Fausta, whom Constantine marries, at Arles.<sup>1</sup> In virtue of his former imperial authority Maximian then invests Constantine with the purple, thus giving sanction to his election by the army. Forthwith the Eastern Augustus, Galerius, hearing of the death of Severus, invades Italy, but is obliged to withdraw. He then elects Licinius as an Augustus for the Illyrian province. Hereupon the remaining 'Caesar,' Maximin, demands and is unwillingly granted the imperial title for Egypt and Syria, while at Rome Maxentius proclaims himself Emperor of Italy and persuades his father, the aged Maximian, to reassume the purple. Thus we have no less than six Emperors at the same time—a most confusing state of things!

Maxentius and his father now quarrel. The praetorian guard declares for the younger and Maximian retires to Illyricum, and when expelled thence by Galerius makes his way again to Arles, in Southern Gaul, and resigns his purple into the hands of his son-in-law, Constantine. But while Constantine is absent on an expedition in Rhineland, irrepressible ambition incites the old man to seize the treasure at Arles and to persuade certain soldiers to proclaim him once more as Emperor. Constantine comes sweeping with his flotillas down the Saône and Rhone, and Maximian flees to Marseille, hoping to be rescued by the Roman fleet of his son Maxentius; but he is given up by the citizens and put to death by Constantine, Fausta 'sacrificing the sentiments of nature to her conjugal duties' and apparently 'approving of the death of her father.

Galerius soon afterwards (311) dies in his palace at Nicomedia—eaten of worms, it is said. He seems to have possessed a

<sup>1</sup> He thus marries his stepmother's sister. His first wife, Minervina, seems to have died.





## HISTORICAL OUTLINE

proud and fiery but a manly and enterprising character, and his reign was noted for many works of public utility, amongst which were the drainage of a vast swamp between the Drave and the Danube and the clearance of wide extents of forest-land.

There are now only four Emperors: Maximin in Asia and Egypt, Licinius in East Europe, Constantine in the West, while Maxentius plays the tyrant in Italy and North Africa.

But Italy and North Africa are too small an Empire for the ambition of Maxentius. He openly avows his intention of invading the dominions of Constantine, whose imperial titles he commands to be erased and whose statues he causes to be ignominiously overthrown. Whereupon Constantine, leaving half his army on the Rhine, with some 40,000 men to oppose 200,000, marches southwards and, having crossed Mont Cenis, takes Susa, Turin, Milan, and Verona, and with an eagle-like rapidity, such as that of the great Cæsar himself, is ere long in the neighbourhood of Rome, where, at the battle of Saxa Rubra (the Red Rocks, near the Milvian Bridge), Maxentius is defeated, and is drowned in the Tiber (312).

In 313 Constantine's 'Edict of Milan' secured the so-called 'Peace of the Church' and the recognition, at least in the Western Empire, of Christianity as a legal religion—possibly as the State religion, though Constantine himself remained a pagan, or unbaptized, until shortly before his death. In the same year Maximin (Nicomedia) makes war on Licinius (Byzantium and Illyricum), but he is defeated and flees to Tarsus, where he dies. Thus there are now only two Emperors, Constantine and Licinius, who for ten years (314–24) divide the Roman Empire. They quarrel and are reconciled and again quarrel. Constantine then captures Byzantium and shortly afterwards puts Licinius (his brother-in-law) to death, though on the supplication of his own sister he had promised to spare the life of her husband, 'after compelling him to lay himself and his purple at the feet of his *lord and master* and raising him from the ground with insulting pity' (Gibbon). So the Roman world is at last once more for a time united under a single Emperor.

## MEDIEVAL ITALY

During the next six years Constantine plans and effects the transference of the seat of Empire from Rome to Byzantium, which he furnishes with new walls and public buildings. It is dedicated in 330 under its new name of Constantinopolis. It was during this period—a year after his capture of Byzantium and his murder of Licinius—that he summoned the famous Council at Bithynian Nicaea, where the Nicene Creed was composed and the doctrines of Arius were condemned. (Constantine, by the way, though legend and art picture his baptism by Bishop Silvester at Rome in 324, was first baptized on his death-bed by an Arian bishop.) Shortly after thus laying a foundation-stone of orthodoxy he puts to death his eldest son Crispus and his own wife Fausta (the story reminds one of Hippolytus and of Don Carlos), and his nephew, the young Licinius. Towards the end of his reign Constantine leads a campaign against the Goths, who are now beginning to drive the Scythian inhabitants of Central Europe, known in that age as 'Sarmatians,' across the Danube. He defeats the Goths in a great battle, but the Sarmatians (ancestors of the Bulgarians) are finally forced south of the Danube, and about 300,000 are given territory in Thrace, Macedonia, and Italy.

In 337 Constantine the Great dies at his palace near Nicomedia (Bithynia), and the Empire is divided among his three sons—twenty-one, twenty, and seventeen years of age—Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans. Of these the first (Emperor of Gaul and Britain and Spain) is killed when invading Italy, the province of his brother Constans; and Constans is murdered by an usurper named Magnentius. Then Constantius, who has massacred a dozen of his own cousins and uncles, hoping thus to extirpate rivals, becomes sole Emperor. He attacks and defeats Magnentius (at Mursa, on the Drave) and chases him from place to place. At last the usurper is overtaken near Lyon and falls on his sword.

Constantius, whose court (at Constantinople, and later at Milan) is dominated by palace officials, especially by an eunuch named Eusebius, adds to his family murders by executing Gallus, his cousin, whom he had married to his sister

## HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Constantina (a human Fury) and had appointed as Caesar to the province of the far East. The brother of Gallus, the future Emperor Julian (many of whose writings have survived), tells us the shameful story of this tragic event. He too was imprisoned by Constantius, and barely escaped with his life by the favour of the Empress, the beautiful and amiable Eusebia. He is exiled to Athens, but by the influence of Eusebia is recalled to Milan, and married to Helena, another sister of Constantius, and receives the title of a Caesar and the administration of the West. How strife arises, how Julian is proclaimed Augustus by his soldiers, and how Constantius, hastening from the far East to chastise the usurper, dies near Tarsus, leaving Julian supreme in the Roman world, will be narrated more fully on a later occasion, when the character and reign of the 'Apostate' Emperor will be discussed.

Julian reigned only twenty months and was not yet thirty-two years of age at his death in 363. He died of an arrow wound in Persia, to the east of the Tigris, not far from where Bagdad now stands, at a moment when his army (as in earlier days in these regions the army of the ten thousand Greeks) was in imminent risk of annihilation. It is saved by the diplomacy rather than the strategy of Jovian, an officer of the Guard, who (after the honour had been refused by Sallust, the noble-minded Prefect of the eastern provinces) is acclaimed Emperor by the troops and accepts a humiliating peace offered by the Persian king, Sapor, ceding five provinces and many cities. The imperial army, after losing many men in the rivers and deserts of Mesopotamia, reaches Antioch, where, as on all the line of retreat, great indignation is excited by the cession of the eastern provinces. (On Jovian's coins, by the way, his portrait is accompanied by laurel crowns, winged Victories, and prostrate captives !)

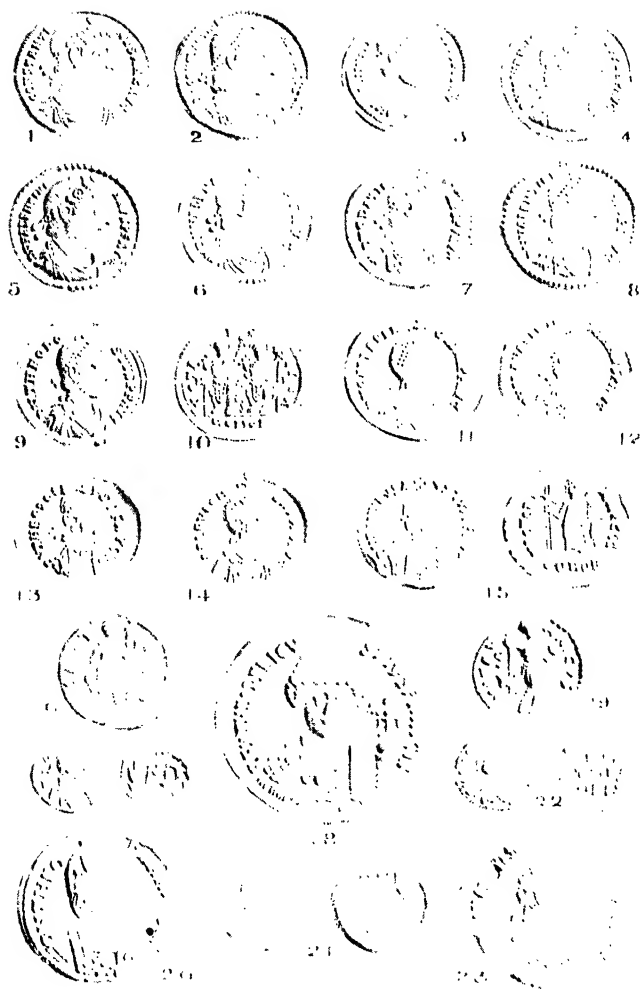
During his six weeks' stay at Antioch and his hurried march through Asia Minor towards Constantinople Jovian issues proclamations enjoining toleration towards paganism, but re-establishing Christianity and the 'Peace of the Church'—

## MEDIEVAL ITALY

re-establishing also the aged Athanasius on the patriarchal throne of Alexandria—an attempt at pacification which, while it brings him enthusiastic acclamation from the Catholic hierarchy, is soon followed by the outbreak of still bitterer fratricidal strife between the Christian sects. At Tarsus the body of the Emperor Julian is buried. Hence Jovian pushes forward, with the Christian standard (the *Labarum*) at the head of his army; but before reaching Nicaea he suddenly dies—poisoned perhaps by mushrooms, or perhaps by the effluvia of charcoal or of a newly plastered room.

In Jovian's stead (after the honour had been once more refused by the Prefect Sallust) is chosen Valentinian, a stalwart officer of Pannonian origin. As he ascends the tribune after investiture a clamour arises that he should elect a colleague. He makes no promise, but a month later, after his arrival at Constantinople, he confers the title of Augustus on his brother Valens, described as a feeble-minded, fat, short man. Thus the Empire is again divided (364), Valens being assigned the East, from the Danube to Persia, and residing chiefly at Antioch, while Valentinian retains Illyricum, Italy, North Gaul, and other western provinces, and chooses Milan as his imperial residence.

In 365-66 takes place the attempt of Procopius, a relative of Julian and a pagan, to make himself master of the Eastern Empire. He captures Constantinople and is acknowledged by troops in Thrace and on the Danube, and his generals subdue Bithynia. The timid Valens, now at Caesarea, wishes to abdicate, but his ministers will not allow it. The aged Sallust is re-elected Prefect of the East, and Procopius, defeated at Thyatira (or in Lycia), escapes to the Phrygian mountains, but is betrayed and beheaded. Thus the cowardly and feeble Valens is re-established on the throne of the Eastern Empire. He devotes most of his energies to persecuting the 'Athanasian Catholics,' being himself an Arian, baptized by the Arian patriarch of Constantinople. The aged Athanasius is, perhaps for the fifth time, forced to fly from Alexandria; but the people take up arms and reinstate their patriarch, who soon afterwards dies (373).







## HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Valentinian, whose person was tall and majestic and who at first gained respect and affection, seems to have passed useful laws—one of which restricted legacies made to the Church, now beginning to indulge in regal wealth and luxury—and to have instituted in many cities educational academies and universities, such as had for centuries existed in Athens. But before he had been long on the throne he appears to have been overmastered by an ungovernable ferocity which demanded many thousands of victims, especially in Rome and in Antioch—the verdicts being generally founded on charges of magic. (He is said to have kept two savage bears, Innocentia and Mica Aurea, to tear to pieces before his eyes those who were condemned.) His choleric temper was the immediate cause of his death, for when (in 375) envoys of the barbarous tribe of Quadi came into his presence in his palace at Trier (Trèves) he addressed them with such passionate violence that he burst a blood-vessel.

Valentinian I was succeeded by his son Gratian, whom he had proclaimed as Augustus when a child of nine, and who was now sixteen years of age. But a part of the army is in favour of his half-brother Valentinian, a mere babe of four, and Gratian good-naturedly accepts him as colleague, under the regency of the child's mother, Justina, assigning him the province of Italy and advising Milan as a residence.

About this time the weak-minded Eastern Emperor, Valens, the uncle of the boy rulers of the West, had allowed a great multitude of Visigoths, driven across the Danube by the Huns, to settle in Moesia and Thrace. These Visigoths, suffering terribly from famine and maltreated and enslaved by imperial officials, revolt and begin to devastate the country; whereupon Valens attacks them. A battle is fought not far from Hadrianople and some 40,000 Imperialists are slain—a disaster that has been compared with that of Cannae. Valens disappeared in the midst of the fray and was never seen again. A vague report asserted that a cottage in which he had taken refuge with his retinue was set on fire by the Goths and that all perished in the flames. Gratian now (378) elects as Emperor of the East

## MEDIEVAL ITALY

the general Theodosius, of Spanish origin. He himself, a mild and sport-loving youth of nineteen years who had been brought up under the gentle influence of the poet Ausonius, excites the contempt of his army by devoting his time to hunting in his great preserves in Gaul, dressed in Scythian costume and attended by Scythian gillies and favourites. Ere long a revolt is incited in Britain by Maximus, a Roman exile who had married, it is said, a lady of Carnarvon. With a great army—‘ afterwards remembered <sup>1</sup> as the emigration of a considerable part of the British nation,’ says Gibbon—he attacks Gratian, who flees to Lyon and is there taken and slain (383). Maximus proclaims himself Augustus. For four years he is *de facto* the Emperor of the West north of the Alps, and as such is recognized by Theodosius; but ere long he invades Italy, forcing Justina to flee with her son, Valentinian II, now a lad of fifteen, from Milan to Aquileia, and from Aquileia to Constantinople. Theodosius, the Eastern Emperor, receives the fugitives and falls in love with Galla, the sister of the boy-Emperor of the West. After marrying her he carries war into Italy, defeats and slays Maximus, restores Valentinian II to his throne (388), and spends three years in Rome and Milan. It was during this sojourn of his at Milan that Theodosius, who as ardent Catholic and exterminator of Arianism had enjoyed the special favour of St. Ambrose, was (it is said) excluded by the archbishop from the cathedral of Milan until he had publicly done penance for the massacre of the unsuspecting citizens of Thessalonica, which he had allowed to take place on account of a tumult

Some two years later (392), not long after the return of Theodosius to Constantinople, the young Valentinian was murdered at Vienne in Gaul, probably by a Frank general named Arbogast. Thus Theodosius was left the sole legitimate Emperor. Arbogast set himself up as dictator and elected as rival Emperor of the West a rhetorician named Eugenius, and it was two years before Theodosius ventured a campaign against this second usurper, whom with great difficulty and

<sup>1</sup> For the story of St. Ursula in this connexion see Index.

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peril he defeated on the Frigidus (Cold River) near Aquileia. Arbogast fell on his own sword, and Theodosius, thus rid of all rivals, was now practically, as well as nominally, the supreme lord of the Roman Empire.

But his life is threatened by dropsy, caused or aggravated by luxurious habits, and having nominated his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, as his successors, the first in the East and the second in the West, he summons the younger, Honorius, a boy of ten years, to Milan (395) to receive the Western sceptre from his dying hands ; and he entrusts the tutorship of the lad to the chief of his army, Stilicho. To Arcadius, a feeble youth of eighteen years and, according to Gibbon, of a malignant and rapacious spirit, was committed the Eastern Empire, and as his guardian or regent was selected by Theodosius the chief minister of State, Rufinus, a Gaul of obscure birth and odious character. This partition of the Empire proved final, except for an interval of two years after the death of Honorius. Henceforth, therefore, Italy alone will occupy most of our attention.

Honorius, who reigned for twenty-eight years, was of such mean intellect, ungovernable temper, and unnatural instincts that he may justly be suspected of insanity. During his reign, however, events took place of supreme importance for the future of Italy.

The chief actor in this scene of the drama is Stilicho, the Vandal general already mentioned, at first the guardian and afterwards the father-in-law of Honorius, and known to literature as the hero of the servile muse of Claudian, the last of the classic Latin poets. In 395 he succeeds in procuring the assassination of his rival Rufinus by means of Gothic troops devoted to his cause, and for about thirteen years he is the real ruler of both Empires.

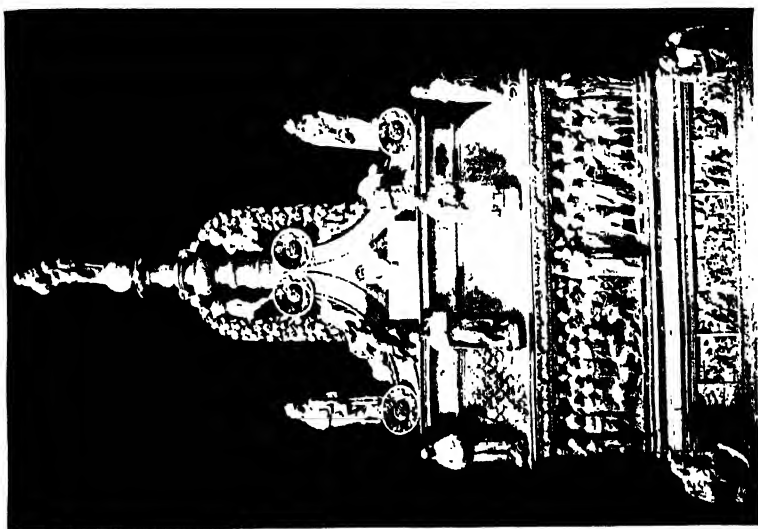
In 402, after having rescued Honorius, who had abandoned Milan in terror at the invading hosts of Visigoths under Alaric and of Vandals under Radegast, Stilicho persuaded him to transfer the seat of Empire to Ravenna ; and this city remained for many years the capital of Italy.

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Again and again Stilicho now defeats Alaric—near Turin and then near Verona—and at length (405) captures and kills Radegast, who with a huge army of Vandals and other barbarians from Rhaetia is besieging Florence. But in order to oppose these invaders he withdraws legions from the Rhine, thus letting into Gaul a deluge of savage Vandals and other German tribes, who spread devastation over seventeen provinces. Also from Britain troops are withdrawn, and ere long Roman occupation comes here finally to an end, so that the Britons, thus left to the ravages of the Picts and Scots, begin to call on the 'English' sea-rovers for help—the help that came some forty years later with Hengist and Horsa! But to return: In 407, one of the last years of the Roman occupation, a private soldier, Constantine by name, is elevated by the soldiery in Britain to the dignity of Emperor, and for some time he terrifies Honorius by extending his conquests<sup>1</sup> over Gaul and Spain, 'from the wall of Antoninus to the columns of Hercules.'

The popularity and power of Stilicho suffer eclipse by reason of these occurrences. He is accused of treason, and in 408 at Ravenna, where he had sought sanctuary in a church, he is killed by the orders or the connivance of Honorius. The death of Stilicho opens the floodgates to the Visigoth invaders. Thirty thousand Goths, hitherto in the service of Stilicho and the Empire, join Alaric, who, after seizing the port of Ostia and thrice investing Rome and bringing it to dire extremities by famine, enters it with his army in 410—the first time that the city had been entered by a foreign foe since its capture by the Gauls in 390 B.C. Alaric remained only three days—or perhaps six—in Rome, where the bloodshed and pillage were apparently less than might have been expected. He then marched southward, perhaps intending to invade Sicily, but died at Cosenza and was buried, it is said, beneath the waters of the Busento, whose stream was diverted for a time to allow

<sup>1</sup> A little later there were again *six* nominal Emperors, viz. Honorius, Theodosius II, Constantine and his son Constans, Attalus (Rome), and Maximus (Spain). Some of the usurpers I have omitted from my narrative.





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a sepulchre and cairn to be built in the river's bed. The retreat of the Visigoths from Italy under Athaulf (Adolf), the foundation of their great kingdom in South Gaul, and the remarkable fortunes of the princess Galla Placidia, whom Alaric captured in Rome, will be more fully described later (Chapter V).

Here it will suffice to say that this daughter of the Eastern Emperor, Theodosius the Great, is taken to Gaul by Athaulf, who soon after marrying her is murdered. She is ransomed by her half-brother Honorius (for 600,000 measures of corn), and on her return to Italy marries Constantius, a celebrated general, who receives the title of Augustus from Honorius, but soon after dies (421). She then quarrels with Honorius and withdraws with her son Valentinian, scarcely four years of age, to Constantinople. At Constantinople the Emperor was now Theodosius II, her (half-) nephew. He had succeeded Arcadius in 408 when a child of seven years, and had been till now under the regency of his sister, Pulcheria, who long after he came of age, indeed during all his reign (especially after the retirement of his wife, Eudocia, to Palestine), was the real ruler of the Eastern Empire, and after his death in 450 was acknowledged as Empress, but was induced or allowed to take as her imperial consort, nominally her husband, a fine old soldier and senator named Marcian.

But to return to Placidia and her little son : they are kindly received by Pulcheria and Theodosius, and after the death of Honorius a few months later (and a further interval of about two years, during which Theodosius suppresses an usurper, John by name, at Ravenna and thus becomes the sole Emperor) the title of Augustus of the West is given to the child Valentinian, now some six years of age, the regency being confided to his mother. Thus the whole Roman Empire is now practically under the rule of two women, of whom one holds the reins of government for about fifteen years (425-40), and the other (Pulcheria) for about forty.

The long reign of Valentinian III (425-55) is notable for two most important barbarian invasions—that of the Huns and that of the Vandals.



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At his, or rather his mother Placidia's, court at Ravenna the rivalry of two distinguished generals, Aëtius and Boniface, greatly influences the course of events.

Boniface, an old and faithful supporter of Placidia in her days of exile, had been made governor of the province of Africa, where he became a great friend of St. Augustine. Aëtius, who had sided with the usurper John, and had even summoned a great army of Huns to support the insurrection, was clever enough to explain matters and gain the favour of Placidia, whose chief adviser he became at the Ravenna court. By the intrigues of Aëtius Boniface was, it seems, summoned home from his command in Africa; but he refused to obey, and it is said—perhaps falsely—that in a fit of indignant anger he invited the Vandals to Africa. In 429 their king Gaiseric (Genseric) crossed from Spain with a large army, and in spite of the desperate resistance of Boniface, who too late had repented of his error (if indeed he had ever committed it), they laid waste the whole of the country and captured Hippo after a long siege—during which siege St. Augustine, who was with Boniface in the beleaguered city, died. Boniface escapes and returns to Ravenna, where he fights a duel (or perhaps a battle) with Aëtius and dies of his wounds in 432. Aëtius is thereupon—some relate—proclaimed a rebel by Placidia. He takes refuge with his friends, the Huns, and once more brings a great army of these barbarians to overawe Ravenna. By this means (says Gibbon—though others doubt it) he established himself as a kind of dictator, 'assuming with the title of master of the cavalry and infantry the whole military power of the State.'

Meanwhile Gaiseric and his Vandals waste Africa with fire and sword. In 439 they capture Carthage and soon after attack and overrun Sicily, and Placidia is compelled to sign a treaty conceding them the conquered provinces and thus securing a period of peace. So things continued until 450, when Placidia, who for the last ten years had withdrawn into private life at Ravenna, died—at Rome, though her tomb is at Ravenna.

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The period 450–52 is notable for the terror caused by Attila the Hun, the ‘Scourge of God,’ who like a thunderbolt falls on the Empire of the West, but is defeated, or at least checked, by Aëtius and his Visigoth allies at a great battle near Châlons—a battle that decided the fate of Europe, and is worthy to be remembered with that of Salamis, of Himera, or of Tours. Then Attila, enraged, swoops down upon Italy and captures many towns, among them Padua and Aquileia. (The fugitives from these and other places settle at Grado and on the lagoon islands and *lidi* where Venice afterwards arises.) At the south end of Lacus Benacus (Lago di Garda) Attila is now met by an embassy from Rome, led by Pope Leo the Great. What was said, or what happened, to cause such a marvel is unknown, but it is certain that after his interview with Leo the savage Hun monarch withdrew his army; and shortly afterwards he died suddenly—perhaps of hæmorrhage.

Valentinian III had promised Aëtius his daughter in marriage, but after Attila’s death he becomes more self-reliant, and in a fit of fury, when Aëtius importunately urges his suit, assassinates him. In the following year (455) Valentinian himself, while looking on at athletic games at Rome, is assassinated by two soldiers, in revenge for the murder of Aëtius, or possibly, as we shall see, for another reason. Thus the dynasty of Theodosius is extinguished (for Pulcheria had died two years before at Constantinople), and we might perhaps reasonably regard this year, 455, which also brought ruin and desolation on the city of Rome, as the end of the Western—that is, the ancient—Roman Empire; for, although in the next twenty-one years no less than nine so-called Emperors arose and fell in Rome, they are mere shadows in the great procession of Augustan monarchs—puppets, most of them, of barbarian princes or generals.

Valentinian’s assassination was perhaps an act of revenge not only for the murder of Aëtius but also for insult offered by the Emperor to the wife of a Roman senator, Petronius Maximus. However that may be, Maximus was now elected Emperor, and he, devising what seems a strange method of

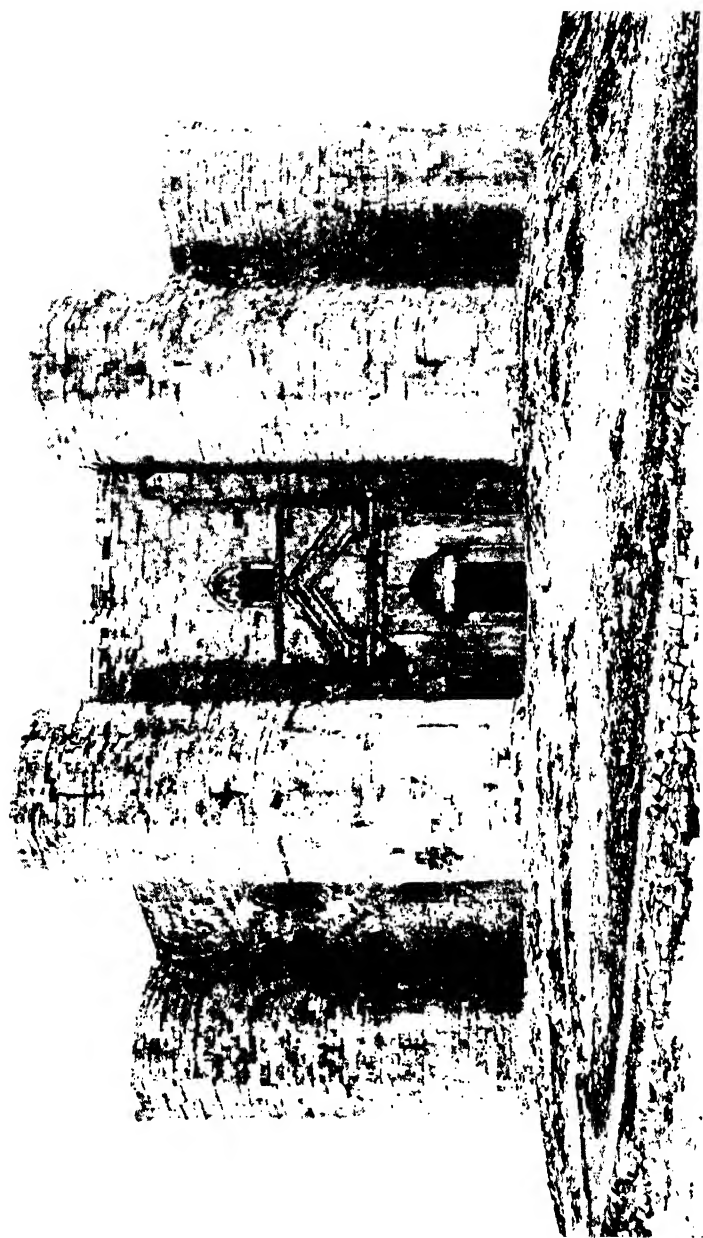
## MEDIEVAL ITALY

avenging the insult offered to his own wife, tries to force the young widow of the murdered Valentinian to marry him. She, Pludoxia, daughter of the late Eastern Emperor Theodosius II, in her indignation, it is said, against her husband's murderer, invites the Vandal king to attack Rome. Perhaps however she had scarce time to do this—for her husband was killed early in 455, and by June Gaiseric and his Vandals were at the mouth of the Tiber. A few days afterwards they enter Rome, where the new Emperor has been stoned to death in a tumult when trying to flee from the city—'a Burgundian soldier claiming the honour of the first wound.' The sack of Rome by the Vandals will be described in one of the following chapters; here it will suffice to add that when Gaiseric returned to Sicily and Africa, carrying with him innumerable treasures (among which were the spoils of the Temple of Jerusalem), he took with him as prisoner this Empress who is said to have invited him to Italy, together with her two daughters, one of whom (Pludocia) married his son, the Vandal king Hunneric.<sup>1</sup>

Rome is for some months paralysed by the disaster. At last Theoderic II, the Visigoth king whose father had fought and fallen in the battle of Châlons, takes upon him, in conclave with the chief Romans and Goths of Gaul assembled at Arles, to elect as Emperor the commandant of the army in Gaul, a native of Auvergne named Avitus. He is accepted, though unwillingly, by the Senate and people of Italy, and his election is sanctioned by the Eastern Emperor, Marcian.

But the reign of Avitus was short. His chief military officer, Ricimer, a barbarian—his mother being a Visigoth princess and his father a Suevian noble—inflicts a crushing naval defeat on the Vandals near Corsica, and, having thus gained popularity, seizes the reins of government, and for the next sixteen years (456–72) plays the rôle of King-Maker. First he deposes Avitus, who when attempting to escape is

<sup>1</sup> The Empress was after seven years allowed to return to Constantinople with her other daughter, Placidia, who in 472 married Olybrius, Emperor of the West.





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seized by him at Placentia and suffers a fate that afterwards befell several other deposed magnates: he is forced to take the tonsure and is—*made a bishop!* (Others assert that he was killed, or died of the plague.) After an interregnum Ricimer selects Majorian as Emperor—a brave and energetic soldier; but his fleet of 300 ships is destroyed by Gaiseric off the coast of Spain—and on his return he is slain by soldiers of Ricimer's—or abdicates and dies.

Then follows another puppet—Libius Severus—during whose nominal reign (461–65) Ricimer rules supreme. But on account of the great increase of the Vandal power on the sea Ricimer is forced, on the death of Severus and after a further interregnum of eighteen months, to appeal to the Eastern Emperor, now Leo I, called the 'Thracian'—himself also the puppet of a barbarian general, Aspar by name, who at Constantinople is playing a rôle similar to that of Ricimer. Leo proposes Anthemius, whom Ricimer accepts, marrying his daughter (467). A great expedition of more than 1000 ships is then sent by Leo and Anthemius to crush the Vandals, but it fails, and Gaiseric (who lives on till 477) becomes all-powerful in the Mediterranean, dominating Sardinia and Sicily and ravaging at his ease the coasts of Italy.

Anthemius had become too popular. Ricimer therefore, collecting in Milan a large force of barbarians, besieges and sacks Rome, murders his father-in-law, and elects as Emperor a Roman noble, Olybrius, who had married the princess Placidia, Valentinian's daughter above mentioned. A few weeks after the murder of Anthemius the King-Maker Ricimer succumbs to an hæmorrhage, and two months later Olybrius dies (472).

On Ricimer's death his nephew Gundobald, a Burgundian prince, takes his place and at Ravenna proclaims as Emperor a captain of the Imperial Household Brigade (*Comes Domesticorum*) named Glycerius. But the Empress Verina at Constantinople, ever ready to meddle, profits by the fatal illness of her husband, Leo the Thracian, to nominate as Emperor of the West a relative of hers called Julius Nepos.

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When Nepos arrives in Italy Gundobald withdraws to his home in Burgundy, and Glycerius, fugitive from Ravenna, consents to be consecrated as Bishop of Salona, in Dalmatia ; for a deposed magnate in these ages was fortunate if he could choose tonsure and ordination, or even episcopal consecration, instead of having his tongue cut out and his eyes blinded by means of a basin of red-hot metal (a process called in Italian *abbacinamento*).

But a rebellion now breaks out among the Gothic troops in Rome. Led by their general Orestes, they march upon Ravenna. Nepos takes flight and reaches Salona, where he probably meets his former rival, ex-Emperor Bishop Glycerius. Here he assumes the government of Dalmatia and rules for years, recognized as Roman Emperor by the court of Constantinople.

Orestes, the third of these Emperor-Makers, was probably a Roman patrician, though born in Illyricum. He had served in Attila's army and had been sent, as we shall see, by the Hun king as ambassador to Constantinople—possibly as fellow-envoy with Edeco, the father of Odovacar, who will soon appear on the stage. Himself a Roman—that is, an Italian and not a northern barbarian—he had to wife the daughter of Count Romulus, a Roman noble resident in Noricum, and this claim of his family to Roman lineage was probably the reason why he dared what not even Ricimer himself would have dared to do—namely to proclaim his own son as Emperor. The youth's name, inherited or assumed on his accession, combined the names of the first King and the first Emperor of Rome. He is generally known as Romulus Augustulus, though the contemptuous or affectionate diminutive is not found on his coins.

One might have expected that the fact of the Roman blood and Roman sympathies of the youthful Emperor and of Orestes himself would have secured the stability of their rule. But this very fact seems to have caused its overthrow. Stilicho and other barbarians who rose to power had been ruined by the patriotic hatred of the Romans, *i.e.* the native Italians.

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*From "Mineral & Historical Relicks of the Welsh Bards"  
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# WALES

HER ORIGINS STRUGGLES AND  
LATER HISTORY INSTITUTIONS  
AND MANNERS

BY  
GILBERT STONE

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Cambridge B.A. LL.B.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE  
RIGHT HON. ELLIS J. GRIFFITH  
K.C. M.P.



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TO  
ELIZABETH STONE

## INTRODUCTION

ON no historical subject is the modern mind, saturated as it is with a superficial philosophy of Imperialism, so apt to go astray, and with dire consequences, as on the question of nationality. Sometimes the term 'nation' is used even by statesmen and philosophers with a mere territorial or geographical significance, and made to include such widely divergent and utterly unrelated phenomena as, for instance, the Tyrolese and the Germans; at other times it is used synonymously with the much more modern and artificial term 'state.' The reason for this confusion is obvious. A nation, like most of the simple and elemental things of our experience, does not readily admit of definition, although the phenomenon itself is perfectly easy to recognize. When we take into consideration the nations of the West as we know them to-day, in a more or less complex state of development, we find it almost impossible to discover anything in the nature of a common denominator, a deciding characteristic for all of them. A common racial origin, a distinct language, political independence, peculiar and definite customs and traditions, a homeland with an unbroken and independent history, religious affinity, military unity, have all of them been suggested as distinguishing characteristics, but on application to concrete instances all of them fail. A modern poet came nearer the truth than all the philosophers when he said that "a community of memories and of hopes" is the common characteristic of all nations, but even this loose and spiritual definition requires, if not modification, at least restatement.

Just as certain natural forces when brought into play under certain conditions produce certain characteristic results, so

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also certain historical processes produce well-defined and easily recognizable results called 'nations.'

These processes are always at work, and new nations are being continually called into existence, while old nations decay, disintegrate, and disappear.

Nationality, from an evolutionary point of view, may only be a phase in a particular process of development, starting with the family and ending ultimately with the world-empire ; and, indeed, a certain type of philosopher is never tired of reminding us that in the interests of the human race generally the process needs accelerating : to them the Empire is a great deal nearer the ideal than the Nation, a proposition, for many reasons, demanding considerable demonstration, and with which we are not concerned. In this historical study the author's purpose has been to outline the processes which have been at work in the making of a peculiar and characteristic phenomenon—Welsh Nationality.

Some people would very likely deny what to us appears to be an incontrovertible fact, that Wales of to-day is a distinct nation, and in support of their attitude would cite its relationship to the United Kingdom and to the British Empire. They would maintain, and with some truth, that at any rate since the Tudor period it has shared the same fortunes as England. Its political and social system is much the same as that of the United Kingdom generally, and its needs and interests are identical with those of the other territorial units in the kingdom. None of these propositions would be correct without very considerable qualification, but, admitting their strict accuracy for the sake of argument, it is still certain that they are all irrelevant considerations.

Any person not of the country itself but coming into Wales from the outside is immediately conscious of the fact that he has entered a strange country. It may well be that he has come into a district which, like Ireland, speaks the English language ; still none the less will he feel that the people are in some strange and subtle way in permanent contrast with the English people themselves. It would be difficult to define

## INTRODUCTION

the difference in any detail ; most people would be content to say that it was in atmosphere, which means little or nothing. But we know the causes which have produced the effect—the different forces which have been at work in moulding the character of the people of the Principality : they have believed and worked for things of their own ; they have lived and died for their own distinct ideals ; their memories are different, and so, to a large extent, are their dreams and their hopes ; and he who comes to them from other lands and other peoples immediately becomes aware of this independence of soul, if not of political organization.

Then there is a still more important fact. The Welsh people themselves are generally conscious of their independent nationality. It is this consciousness that makes nations. This raised Bohemia from being a mere racial group into the dignity of nationhood. This consciousness of unity and independence at a great political crisis welded together the infinitely diverse elements of the United States and made a nation of the clashing factions. This consciousness kept Norway alive through all diplomacies and political exigencies until at last through the medium of literature the whole of Europe awoke to its national existence. It is this inward certainty of the soul that has made Ireland the chief and most difficult problem in British politics for many centuries. More, possibly, than any other force has this wrought miracles in history—from the days of the revolt of Israel against the Empire down to our times. We may deride and condemn it, as Turkey did with the Balkan States ; we may ignore it, as England did with Ireland ; we may for a time crush it with a tyrant's recklessness, as Austria did with Italy or Germany with Belgium ; in the end it will prove its power and win. Alone it is the supreme test of nationality ; and it exists in modern Wales, and is perhaps stronger to-day than at any other period of the nation's history because it is more universal—because it has captured the soul of the peasantry.

We have already said that in the case of the Principality different forces have been at work. It is too commonly



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thought that since what is generally known as the Conquest of 1282 Wales has travelled historically along the same lines as England. This book will show how misleading such a conception is, how at almost every single great crisis in our history this consciousness of independence of which we have spoken has asserted itself and led the Welsh people a way of their own.

At no time in the history of our civilization has it been more important that a great Empire and its citizens should understand the true import and significance of this kind of individualist development—to see clearly why and how in national life different causes produce different and distinctive results, why and how different moulding forces produce different attitudes and different needs; and it is on the ground that in this book we find this great and important truth set out that I commend it not only to Welsh readers, who will naturally be deeply interested in it, but also to a much wider circle of readers—to the British public.

ELLIS J. GRIFFITH

## PREFACE

THE history of Wales, which stretches back as far as that of any nation in Europe, and which presents to the student of peoples some most interesting problems, has been singularly neglected by historians until comparatively recent years. The direct ancestors of the Welsh were offering sacrifices to their gods in Britain thousands of years before our era. The Welsh are, indeed, descended from races which conquered a large part of Western Europe, Albion, and Ireland; their immediate ascendants, the Britons, opposed Caesar's landing and lived long under Rome's government, learning their lessons in Roman schools and pleading before Roman judges; they fought stubbornly and for centuries against the barbarian Saxons, struggling as few people have had to struggle to preserve a great and widespread civilization. This people, driven back at last by force of overwhelming numbers to the mountains of Cynru, still held the flag of liberty aloft, met in succession and successfully Saxon and Angle and Dane, Norseman and Norman, until at last, worn out and embruted by centuries of warfare, they succumbed to the Norman castle-builders, as more than twelve hundred years before their ancestors had succumbed to the block-houses and forts of Frontinus and Agricola.

A history of such an ancient people should be deeply interesting, yet until the middle of the nineteenth century there were singularly few histories produced relating to Wales or to Welsh movements. With the *Annales Cambriae* and the *Brut y Tywysogion* as foundation, the works of cleric chroniclers such as Caradog of Llancarvan, a few later writers made some effort to tell the story of their country. Humphrey

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Llwyd, Powel, and Wynne, working in turn on the primary authorities and editing the work of their predecessor, prevented Welsh history from falling into complete neglect. Some few others, such as Edward Lhuyd in the seventeenth, Pennant and Warrington toward the end of the eighteenth, and Merrick in the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, carried on, in a partial manner, the good work.

As the nineteenth century progressed several fresh workers came into the field. The publication of the *Myvyrian Archæology of Wales* in 1801-7 had supplied subsequent writers with much good material, but it was not until the foundation of the third Cymmrodorion Society in 1873 that any great historical movement took place, although already B. B. Woodward (1853) and Miss Williams ('Ysgafell') (1869) had produced bulky volumes on this subject. From the seventies onward the flow of works upon general and particular Welsh history became more and more considerable. Any adequate notice of modern writers is not possible within the limits of these pages, but every student of Welsh history owes a deep debt of gratitude to the Cymmrodorion Society and to the Cambrian Archæological Society. Within the last twenty years, thanks largely to the researches conducted by a comparatively small body of enthusiastic scholars, our knowledge of Welsh history has been very greatly extended. Improved texts of the *Brut y Tywysogion* and the *Ancient Laws of Wales* have recently been issued, and it may be that the time will soon arrive when Welsh history has a bibliography commensurate with its importance.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to treat of the history of Wales from the earliest times to the present day. The work is, however, chiefly concerned with the doings of the Welsh up to the Act of Union (1535). Thence onward events are surveyed less closely, except that an occasional pause is made for the purpose of noting some great and important national movement.

I am fully conscious of the fact that throughout the work many statements are made dogmatically which in the present

## P R E F A C E

state of our knowledge are highly debatable. Thus I regard the earlier people who lived in Britain as belonging to the Semitic race. I use this term conventionally. Many writers employ the term 'Iberian.' This is unfortunate for two reasons: (1) There is no sufficient ground for connecting the Neolithics of Britain with the Iberian rather than with any other of the so-called Mediterranean races; (2) the word is misleading, since it turns our attention to the Spanish peninsula for no very obvious or cogent reason. Other writers refer to the Mediterranean races. This has the advantage of being non-committal and the disadvantage of being vague. Others direct our attention to the Libyan tribe of the Hamitic family. These last writers seem to be best supported by the available evidence, and I have long pondered a change from 'Semitic' to 'Hamitic,' especially since I am at pains to show the connexion between Neolithic man and Egyptian culture. The term 'Hamitic' is, however, vague and liable to be misconstrued, since several negroid races fall within that group. Again, as I point out in the body of the work, Neolithic culture, such as it was, was not improbably connected with that which flowed from the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates. This point of view, I think, is best brought into prominence by the use of the term 'Semitic,' but it must be understood that that term is used conventionally to denote men racially connected either with the Hamitics of Egypt or Libya or with the Semitics proper.

Another point must be made clear. The title 'Briton' is to-day borne by many peoples in many lands, few of whom, probably, realize that, strictly speaking, it is the Welshman alone who is entitled to that name. When in olden times the Anglo-Saxon Chroniclers referred to their enemies the Britons they used the term 'Wealas' or 'Bret-Wealas.' When in 1870 the German historian von Treitschke spoke of the Frenchmen of Lorraine he used the term 'Wälsch,' inelegantly translated in *Elsass and Lothringen Past and Present* as 'Welsh.' Both terms expressed the same notion

## HISTORY OF WALES

of enmity. The Welshman was the Saxon's enemy, but he was a Briton-enemy.

This fact that the Briton, the Briton of that Britain which the Teutons invaded, was the ancestor of the modern Welshman must be borne in mind, otherwise the treatment of the earlier chapters of the book may be regarded as confused. Since this work has been designed in such a manner that an impression, however imperfect, may be obtained of the underlying causes which have resulted in the development of the Welsh national character, it has been necessary to consider the history of the Welsh people rather than the history of that geographical area now known as Wales. Until the fifth century of our era the Welsh people were mainly found in Britain rather than in Cymru. The earlier chapters are therefore concerned with the inhabitants of Britain as a whole.

A further result flowed from the desire to depict the gradual development of Welsh nationality. In the happiest of circumstances it is not easy to provide an adequate picture of a people by a mere recital of wars, of political events, or of the intrigues or accomplishments of princes and statesmen. When one is considering the history of the Welsh people the difficulties, owing to several causes, chief of which are the scantiness of the original authorities, the nature of their compilation, and the date at which they were reduced to their present form, become almost insuperable. An endeavour has therefore been made to obtain an idea of the character of the ancient Welsh by a consideration of matters other than those which fall within the scope of a political history, using that term in its strictest sense. Their religion, laws, customs, and poetry have at least been glanced at.

The spelling of Welsh names is always a difficulty, and it may aid the non-Welsh reader to follow the plan adopted if the following points are made clear :

The forms Gruffydd, Maredudd, Owain, Howel, Conan, and Llywelyn are consistently used. Exception, however, is made in the case of Gruffydd ap Cynan (instead of Conan) and Gruffudd (instead of Gruffydd), the son of Llywelyn the  
xii

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Great (with the consequent spelling of Llywelyn Prince of Wales' name as Llywelyn ap Gruffudd). The purpose of these variations is to distinguish those important characters from other persons in Welsh history who bore similar names. The spelling of less common names has occasionally been varied also, chiefly because of a difference of period.

The following is a list of English equivalents for Welsh names, taken in the main from the recently published *Llyfr Baglan* of John Williams (edited by J. A. Bradney, F.S.A.):

Cadwgan = Cadogan	Owain = Owen = Eugene
Goronwy or	Price = ap Rice (or Rhys)
Grono = Stephen	Rhydderch or
Gruffydd or Gruffudd =	Rhodri = Roderick
Griffith	Rhys = Rees or Reece
Gwilym = William	Rinallt = Reginald
Ieuan, Ieun = Iŷvan	Tewdwr = Tudor =
Iorwerth = Edward	Theodore
Maredudd = Meredith	Vychan = Vaughan =
Meurig = Merrick	Little (or 'the Junior')

Nest, a common feminine name, comes from *nes*, *nessa*, 'near,' 'nearest,' and probably meant 'dear.'

Welsh names are sometimes lengthy, men identifying themselves by reference to their father and grandfather. 'Ap,' meaning 'son of,' is a late form, being a corruption of 'map,' 'mab,' and is sometimes written 'ab.' It is connected with the Goidelic or Gaelic 'mac.' For daughter, following John Williams, the contraction 'vz,' which comes from 'verch' or 'ferch,' meaning 'daughter,' is used.

The spelling of place-names has been checked with Professor Lloyd's *History of Wales*, but if errors or inconsistencies exist the fault is mine.

Among the many works to which I am indebted for information, the following have been found particularly useful:

(1) On the ancient period: *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, Dr. T. R. E. Holmes' *Ancient Britain*; Sir John Rhys' *Celtic Britain* and *Celtae and Galli*; Professor Haverfield's *Military*

## HISTORY OF WALES

*Aspects of Roman Wales*; Sir John Rhys and Sir David Brynmor Jones' *The Welsh People*; the late Dr. Hodgkin's *Political History of England*, vol. i; Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson's *Keltic Researches*; Dr. P. W. Joyce's *A Social History of Ancient Ireland*; Mr. T. W. Rolleston's *Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race*; Sir Norman Lockyer's *Stonehenge*; Mr. E. M. Nelson's *The Cult of the Circle-Builders*; M. Rœssler de Graville's *L'Art Celtique*; M. Déchelette's *Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique*; Mr. J. Romilly Allen's *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times*; and the various antiquarian journals, in particular *Archæologia*, *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and the *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*.

(2) On the middle period: Pre-eminently Professor Lloyd's *History of Wales*, selections from which have been used by the courtesy of the author and the publishers, Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Co. The *Brut y Tywysogion* and the *Annales Cambriae* have formed the basis for the whole of this period, except the life of Gruffydd ap Cynan, for which I have used *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan* (edited by Mr. Arthur Jones). Also Sir H. C. Hoare's translation of the *Itinerary of Giraldus Cambrensis*; Dr. Henry Owen's *Gerald the Welshman*; *Gualteri Mapes de Nugis, etc.* (edited by T. Wright) (a later edition, edited by Dr. James, has recently been published); Professor Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*; Mr. G. T. Clark's *Mediæval Military Architecture*; Sir R. W. Payne-Gallwey's *Projectile-throwing Engines of the Ancients*; *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* and *Y Cymmrodor* (particularly Mr. Nicholson's article on Genealogies).

Upon the Arthurian legends works by the following authors have been found of great value: Miss Jessie L. Weston, Sir John Rhys, Mr. Alfred Nutt, Dr. Leo Landau, Mr. Stuart Glennie, Mr. W. W. Comfort, and Mr. W. H. Dickinson. Lady Charlotte Guest's translation of the *Mabinogion* has been used, in conjunction with Mr. Alfred Nutt's *Mabinogion* and Sir John Rhys' articles in the *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*.

(3) On the last period: The *Statutes at Large*; the *Calendar*

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and *Patent Rolls* ; Sir H. Ellis' *Original Letters* ; Miss C. A. J. Skeel's *The Council of the Marches in Wales* ; Mr. J. A. Wylie's *History of England under Henry IV* (and the recently published part on Henry V) ; Thomas Pennant's *Tours in Wales* ; Mr. A. G. Bradley's *Owen Glyndwr* ; 'Owen Rhoscomyl's' article in the *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* ; Sir John Rhys and Sir David Brynmor Jones' *The Welsh People* ; David Powel's *Historie of Cambria* ; Mr. H. T. Evans' *History of England and Wales* ; Mr. O. M. Edwards' *Wales* ; 'Maclog's' *Poems of Davyth ap Gwilym* ; Edward Jones' *Poetical Relicks of Welsh Bards* ; and the Rev. W. M. Morris' *The Renaissance of Welsh Literature*.

For the Note on coins Sir John Evans' *British Coins* has been almost entirely relied upon. On the laws of Wales, to which some prominence is given, the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (Record Commission), together with Mr. Frederick Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*, have been mainly used.

I must express my thanks to the Right Honourable Ellis J. Griffith, K.C., M.P., for his Introduction to the book ; the Right Honourable Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., K.C., for permission to use parts of certain articles which had appeared from my pen in the *Law Quarterly Review* ; Mr. J. Travis Mills, M.A., for much helpful criticism when the work was in proof stage and before ; Professor Haverfield for permission to use his map of Roman Wales ; Major-General Sir Francis Lloyd, D.S.O., for permission to reproduce the portrait of Humphrey Llwyd in his possession ; Mr. John Ballinger, M.A., Librarian of the National Library of Wales, for help in obtaining a reproduction of the twelfth-century Grail manuscript and for various suggestions as to other illustrations ; Mr. C. C. Wood for help in revising the proofs and in compiling the Index ; the Assistants in the Coin and Manuscript Departments of the British Museum for making casts of coins and adding identifying notes thereon, and for making casts of seals ; and, finally, my wife for much help and assistance.

GILBERT STONE

LONDON, 1915





## THE LORD RHYS

In the next year death removed Gruffydd from the scene. On his death in 1201 his title to leadership passed to his sons (Rhys and Owain), who, in consequence, are found in opposition to Maelgwn for many years.

We must now leave this unhappy house of Deheubarth still embroiled in the squabble for power. Gwenwynwyn, too, is no longer a force worthy of detailed consideration. It is not until we come to speak of Llywelyn the Great that we can treat of a man and a movement that once again welded Wales into a nation and gave to its people once more their beloved liberty.

## CHAPTER XVII

### GEOFFREY, WALTER, & GERALD

**I**N this chapter we shall consider three men eminent in the realms of literature who, while being purely or partly of Welsh birth, made their influence felt throughout Europe, and who, brought up as they were in Wales, have left us a fairly complete picture of that country in the twelfth century. We shall thus not merely have to consider the men, but also the matter of which they wrote, and in so considering shall have something to say of the life and manners of mediæval Wales.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, Walter Map, and Giraldus Cambrensis were all very remarkable men. Extremely learned for their age, they add a sprightliness and, especially in the case of the last two, a wit and wide knowledge of men which have made their writings live on right to the present day. The busy man to-day can pick up his Giraldus and laugh with him over the curious events recorded in the *Itinerary*, he can follow Geoffrey with pleasure through his pseudo-history of the Britons, he can enjoy Map, whether he be telling us of legends connected with the name of Arthur or of the prophecies of Merlin or his Goliardic stories or his opinions of the Cistercians. They were, indeed, singularly similar types. Though clerics and learned men, they never permitted their learning to make them dull. They had a ready ear for a story or a legend, and a quick wit. They were voluminous writers, and there is hardly a line they wrote that is not well worth reading.

#### GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH

This son of Arthur, private priest to William, Earl of Gloucester, was the earliest of the triumvirate. Born about

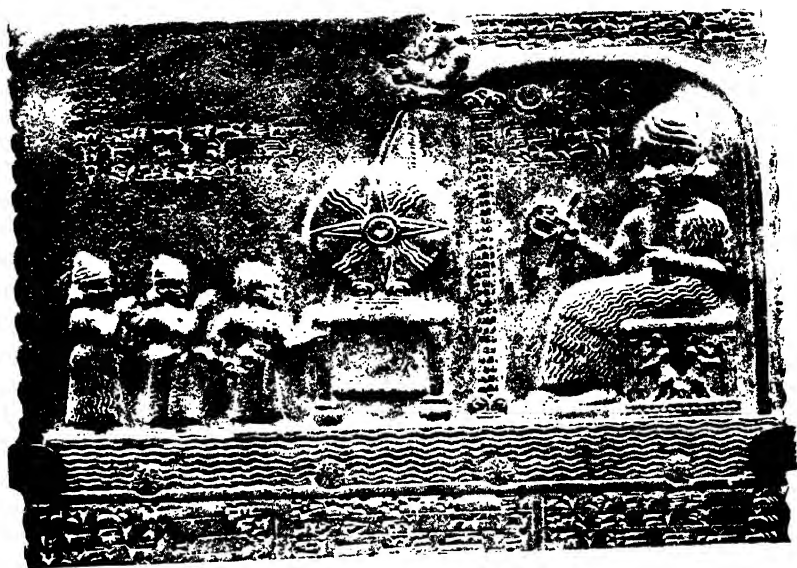


PLATE VII BAS RELIEF RELATING TO THE TEMPLE OF SITAR



## GEOFFREY, WALTER, & GERALD

1100, he was brought up in the Welsh manner as the foster-son of Uchtryd, his paternal uncle, then Archdeacon, and afterward Bishop, of Ilandaff. Educated at Oxford, he early became a friend of Walter of Wallingford, Archdeacon of Oxford, who suggested to him the compilation of a history of the Britons. According to Geoffrey, this Walter had already become possessed of a "very ancient British book,"<sup>1</sup> which he had brought over from Brittany, and it was this book which Geoffrey drew upon for material for his *Historia Regum Britanniac*. While yet engaged in the production of his history he found time to make a Latin translation of the prophecies of Merlin from the Welsh—a work which was afterward incorporated into his history. The great work was eventually completed not later than 1139, for in that year it was read by Henry of Huntingdon in the Abbey of Bec in Normandy, and it has been stated by a competent authority that it was finished by 1135. The *Historia* is an account of the British nation from the fall of Troy onward. Geoffrey seems never to have permitted his imagination to receive the slightest check, and from beginning to end, as a history, it is completely untrustworthy. Even in his own century it was perceived by the discerning that it was far from being a truthful story. William of Newbury was particularly scathing, for among other rude things we find him saying: "In that book of his which he calls his British History how childishly and impudently he lies throughout no one, unless ignorant of the ancient histories, is left in any doubt." Giraldus summed up its value in his own manner by a story concerned with evil spirits. It appears that, according to him, a certain man had the power of seeing evil spirits. These spirits loved lies and hated truth; consequently, by observing from what books they fled he was able to judge the truth of the written word. "Once," we are told, "when he was much tormented by the evil spirits, he placed the Gospel of St. John in his bosom, when they immediately vanished from his sight like

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Wright suggested that it could not have been more than two hundred years old at the time.

## HISTORY OF WALES

birds ; afterward he laid the Gospel aside, and for the sake of experiment took the *History of the Britons*, by Galfridus Arthurus, in its place, when they returned and covered not only his body, but the book in his bosom, far more quickly and more troublesome than usual." Giraldus' judgment was right, even as his mode of expressing it was witty.

But notwithstanding its complete untrustworthiness, Geoffrey's work instantly gained a wide popularity. The writer had succeeded in casting a glamour of romance over the early history of his country, and out of the storehouse of his imagination had created kings and courts, heroes and victories. It rapidly spread to the Continent. Copy after copy was made,<sup>1</sup> and in time its contents were accepted as true by historians of repute. Geoffrey's statements are followed by Holinshed, and through him by Shakespeare, who got his account of King Lear from this authority.<sup>2</sup>

In England many translations, adaptations, and modifications of the historio-romance early appeared, those known as the *Brut Tysilio*, the *Brut y Brenhinocedd*, and the *Brut Gruffydd ab Arthur* being the most famous. Of its effect on mediaeval romantic literature through its creation, or at least development, of the character of Arthur we have already spoken in a previous chapter. It is perhaps because of the eager seizure upon his materials by the poets and troubadours that Geoffrey gained his place as the leader in a wonderful literary movement, but the work itself, had it not been called a history, would have ranked high as a product of the imagination.

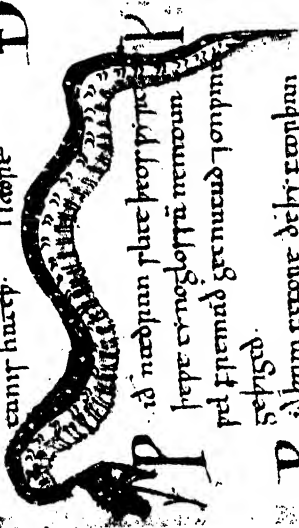
Apart from his writings, Geoffrey cut a respectable but not an imposing figure upon the stage of history. He was deemed learned by his contemporaries, and with the aid of his uncle was successful in obtaining preferment. According to H. R. Tedder, he was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in 1152, and

<sup>1</sup> An interesting copy dedicated to King Stephen instead of to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, appeared in the catalogue of Berne Library, Switzerland, in 1770. For an account of this see *Archæological Journal*, vol. xv, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> His work was largely used by other Elizabethan dramatists. Such plays as *The True Trojans*, by Fisher, and *The Mayor of Quinborough*, by Middleton, are mainly based on Geoffrey's *History*.



**F**ar þýrce þerman cynoglossa  
 7 adrum þerman subbe nem  
 meþ þhy tae summen lingua  
 canis hærþ. Næpe



**W**id nædrum þære þrof þýrce  
 þepe cynoglossa nemoun  
 þel fremad getnucud 7 onþine  
 gefiged.

**P**id þam ferope de þý feroþan  
 dæge on man becyrmeþ genū  
 þar ælan þýrce cynoglossam  
 dæst feroþe hæðe tnuca hý  
 sile drincan on þærepe heo  
 als-riþ þone man.



**F**ar þýrce þerman cynoglossa  
 7 adrum þerman subbe nem  
 meþ þhy tae summen lingua  
 canis hærþ. Næpe

**W**id nædrum þære þrof þýrce  
 þepe cynoglossa nemoun  
 þel fremad getnucud 7 onþine  
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 dæge on man becyrmeþ genū  
 þar ælan þýrce cynoglossam  
 dæst feroþe hæðe tnuca hý  
 sile drincan on þærepe heo  
 als-riþ þone man.





## GEOFFREY, WALTER, & GERALD

this statement is generally accepted, though Robert Williams had previously pointed out that the Geoffrey thus appointed was another Geoffrey or Godfrey ap Arthur, who was made Abbot of Abingdon in 1165, which office he held *in commendam* with his bishopric until July 11, 1175, whereas 'Golfray ab Arthur,' the real Geoffrey of Monmouth, died in 1152.<sup>1</sup> It is admitted on all sides that Geoffrey died in 1154 or 1155, after he had been elected Bishop of Llandaff, but before he had entered upon his office. The *Brut* tells us that he died at Mass.

### WALTER MAP

The second of the three worthies was born about 1140. He describes himself in *De Nugis* as a "marcher of Wales," and refers to the Welsh as fellow-countrymen. His name is also Celtic in form. It is probable, however, that he was not of pure Welsh blood, and many of his references to Wales are so aloof that it would appear that a foreign training and long residence in England and in France had made him look upon the Welsh as strangers. He was probably born in Herefordshire, though a claim has been put forward by Dr. Henry Owen on behalf of Pembrokeshire.<sup>2</sup> His parents appear to have been persons of position, high in favour with Henry II. After the young Map had received an excellent education in Paris he returned to England in 1162, and became attached to the king's court, holding a position as clerk of the king's household.

He seems early to have been regarded as a man of wit and discretion, and was sent on several diplomatic missions, later (c. 1173) being made a justice itinerant. Even at this time he was a bitter opponent of the Cistercians, and when he took the oath to administer justice to all men he was careful expressly to except Jews and Cistercian monks!<sup>3</sup> Later in life he obtained considerable ecclesiastical preferment, holding the offices of Vicar of Westbury, Precentor of Lincoln, and

<sup>1</sup> This should be 1155. The *Brut* gives the date as 1154, and is a year behind.

<sup>2</sup> Gloucestershire has also been mentioned as his native county.

<sup>3</sup> This is related by Giraldus, who never tested a story very carefully with the touchstone of truth.

## HISTORY OF WALES

Canon of St. Paul's (1176). In 1197 he was made Archdeacon of Oxford, and in 1199 and 1203 was an unsuccessful candidate for the sees of Hereford and St. David's respectively. He died some time before 1210.

Throughout his life he seems to have taken an interest in Welsh folk-lore and in the manners and customs of the Welsh people. He it is who, in conjunction with Geoffrey of Monmouth, was responsible in no small degree for the development of the Arthurian legend. Indeed, according to Professor Saintsbury, Map is responsible even to a greater degree than Chrétien de Troyes for the perfecting of the Arthur stories. In his *De Nugis* he devotes much space to an account of Welsh characteristics. In his Second Distinction he impresses upon the reader the generosity and hospitality of these people, illustrating his statement by a story of a Welshman who killed his wife because she had driven a stranger from the shelter of their house into a blinding snowstorm by suggesting that his presence was unwanted. He, like Giraldus, speaks of the 'perfidy' of the Welsh and of their readiness to break the most solemn oath. He, like Giraldus, treats of this people as a hardy and passionate race, trained up from childhood for war and ever ready to repay an insult with an arrow. The following story which he tells in *De Nugis* expresses neatly his view of the Welsh temperament. Map had already stated that the Welsh were "prodigal of life, covetous of liberty, careless of peace, warlike and cunning in arms, quick to revenge, very generous of everything, each most sparing of food for himself but bountiful of meat to another, so that each one's food is anybody's." He continues: "To show how full of rash and fatuous fury are the fits of the Welsh, a youth of a town called Hay went out to cross the river Coye: he was carrying a bow with two arrows, and happening to meet two of his enemies he took to flight. As he fled one of them followed so close that he seemed like to catch him. But the youth shot him with one of his arrows in the middle of his breast. The stricken man said to his comrade: 'Follow him, for I am dying, and bring me back my

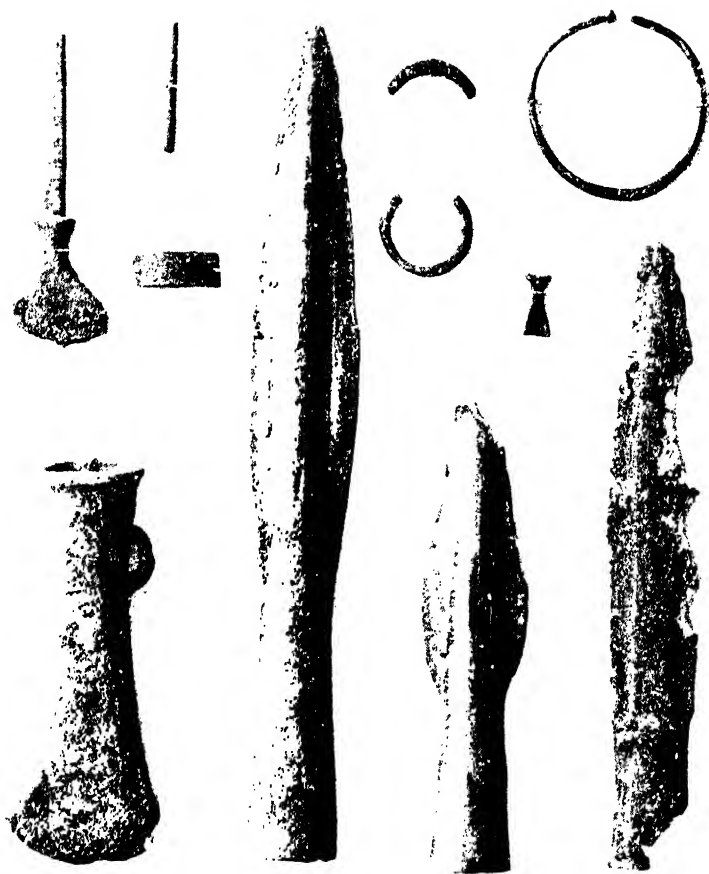


PLATE XI BRONZE IMPLEMENTS, SPEAR HEADS, ETC., FOUND AT  
TY MAWR



## GEOFFREY, WALTER, & GERALD

life from him.' The other then pursued the youth toward the next town as far as he could, and then returned to his comrade. But as he made his way back, he in his turn was followed at a distance by the youth, who wanted to know the end of his fellow. The youth then saw that when the man who was unhurt came to his wounded comrade, lying in a thicket, the latter asked him whether he had brought him back his life from the youth. When he replied that he had not, 'Come here,' said the wounded man, 'to take from me a kiss for my wife and children, for I am on the point of death.' While the unwounded man was in the act of kissing his sick comrade, the latter, as he lay beneath him, stabbed him to the heart with a knife, saying, 'Lose thy life, thou who through thy cowardice hast failed to bring back mine !' But the man who was on top cut him, in the same way, with a knife to the heart, saying, 'No boast shalt thou make of my death, and my only misfortune is that the wounds thou hast given me compel me to die before I have passed on such kisses to thy wife and children !' "

Map's precise place in literary history is a somewhat difficult one to fix. Besides his *De Nugis* he is, of course, famous for his work on the Arthurian legend. He is also accredited with a large share of what is known as the Goliardic literature. It is scarcely believable, however, that the man who could even be tentatively accredited with *The Quest of Lancelot* should have penned the doubtful ditties common to the Goliards.

According to Thomas Wright, "The Goliardi, in the original sense of the word, appear to have been in the clerical order somewhat the same class as the jongleurs and minstrels among the laity, riotous and unthrifty scholars who attended on the tables of the richer ecclesiastics, and gained their living and clothing by practising the profession of buffoons and jesters." The term is a comparatively ancient one, and was certainly current as early as 923. The nature of their lays may be judged from Chaucer's lines :

He was a jangler, and a goliardeis,  
And that was most of sinne and harlotries.

## HISTORY OF WALES

Map certainly obtained the reputation in the latter Middle Ages of being the author of *Golias* and other Goliardic verses, e.g. the well-known students' song which commences :

*Meum est propositum in taberna mori.*<sup>1</sup>

Some have even given him the credit of being a Rabelais who attacked the monks under cover of a licentious pen. With the reputation of a Goliard came that of being a bibulous cleric, or, as Thomas Wright elegantly phrases it, "a jovial toper."<sup>2</sup> According to his friend Giraldus, Map was a friend of Henry II, because the king admired him for his learning and courtliness; he was an acknowledged wit, a *littérateur*, and his taste in letters was excellent. As to the authorship of *Golias*, that work was undoubtedly produced in Map's lifetime; but though it was well known to Giraldus—who tells us that he was much shocked at its levity and licentiousness—he evidently had no notion that Map was the author, and it is highly probable that many of these rhymes are the productions of other pens, though it is also probable that Map was responsible for such verses as *The Cambriac Epitome*, which was a *précis* in rhyme of Giraldus' work.

### GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS<sup>3</sup>

Giraldus de Barri, called by his enemies Sylvester, or 'the Savage,' came of a right noble race. His father, William de Barri, was a prominent Norman noble in favour with the English court. His mother, Angharad, was a daughter of that Nest, wife to Gerald of Windsor, who, as we have seen, was abducted by Owain, and whose beauty and amours earned for her the title of 'the Helen of Wales.'

Born about 1147 at Manorbier, he was the eye-witness of many a sudden raid and fierce attack by the Welsh on the Normans and Flemings. As a boy he was much like other

<sup>1</sup> "I desire to expire in a tavern drinking."

<sup>2</sup> Wright repudiates the suggestion that Map was bibulous.

<sup>3</sup> We have made much use in what follows of Dr. Henry Owen's excellent biography *Gerald the Welshman*; also the Introduction to Giraldus' works in the Rolls Series.

## GEOFFREY, WALTER, & GERALD

boys, and preferred to practise archery rather than learn Latin. He seems, however, early to have shown considerable capacity and desire for learning, and we have preserved to us a number of Latin poems composed by him while yet a youth which, though not marvellous, are, on the other hand, by no means contemptible. Much of the polish which he later exhibited in his writings was doubtless due to his studies at Paris, where, according to his own statement, he was always pointed to as the really model scholar.

It was in 1172 that he returned from Paris to England, and immediately began to occupy a respectable position in the affairs of the Church. His uncle was Bishop of St. David's, and with his aid the brilliant young scholar soon obtained preferment. He successively held the livings of Llanwnda, Tenby, and Angle in Pembrokeshire, and Chesterton in Oxfordshire. He was also made Prebendary of Hereford and Canon of St. David's.

In 1175 he became Archdeacon of Brecknock, in place of Archdeacon Jordan, who had married a wife and, in his old age, refused to repudiate her. As Dr. Owen puts it, "He kept his wife, but he lost his archdeaconry."

Gerald was, indeed, at this time a stern reformer. Having cleansed Jordan's stables, he turned his attention to tithes. His energy brought him into contact with William Karquit, a Fleming, and sheriff of Pembrokeshire. Karquit, despising the young cleric, insulted Gerald by seizing eight yoke of oxen from Pembroke Priory. Gerald replied with bell, book, and candle. In Brewer's descriptive words, "The doleful clanging of bells announced to all the surrounding country that William Karquit, High Sheriff of Pembroke, was deleted from the muster-roll of the saints. Henceforth, whatever he might be in the transitory honours of the world, he was but a dead dog in the estimation of the faithful." Karquit submitted.

Gerald's next fight of importance was over the new church of St. Michael at Kerry. This church was claimed both by St. Asaph and St. David's, and while the Bishop of St. Asaph was engaged in consecrating it Gerald's party arrived, with



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the irrepressible one at their head, intent on claiming it for St. David's. History has few more amusing pictures than the scene which followed. After a furious dispute Gerald brought out the bell, book, and candle, excommunicated the bishop, drove off the St. Asaph party by such a hideous clanging of bells that the sensitive Welsh ears could not tolerate it, and finally, deeming honour satisfied, sent his very good friend the bishop some "very excellent drink." The bishop was received back into the fold.

It was in the next year (1176) that the first step in Gerald's famous fight for St. David's was taken. Henry doubtless admired Gerald, but he also desired to have some control of the affairs of South Wales. The Lord Rhys was, as we have seen, already well-nigh independent of the king, and was the admitted head of the civil life of the south. Had such an independent spirit as Gerald been placed at the head of the ecclesiastical life of South Wales, English influence would have been eliminated. Consequently, when Gerald was chosen in that year Bishop of St. David's Henry avoided the election and commanded that Peter de Leia be chosen instead. It was as the king wished, and Gerald retired for the next four years to Paris, where he studied theology and Canon law.

On his return he was at once employed by Henry upon administrative work in Wales, with such successful results that he was rewarded by being made chaplain to the king in 1184. In the year following he accompanied Prince John to Ireland, where he acquired his material for the *Topography and Conquest of Ireland*. Shortly after his return he accompanied his old friend Archbishop Baldwin on the tour through Wales, mainly undertaken for the purpose of raising recruits for the Crusades. Gerald seems to have met with much success in his efforts to get men to be marked with the cross. As he, in his usual complacent manner, informs us, after Archbishop Baldwin had completely failed to move his audience he, Gerald, quickly moved them to tears, and it was only because he did not speak in Welsh that there were any men left unmarked with

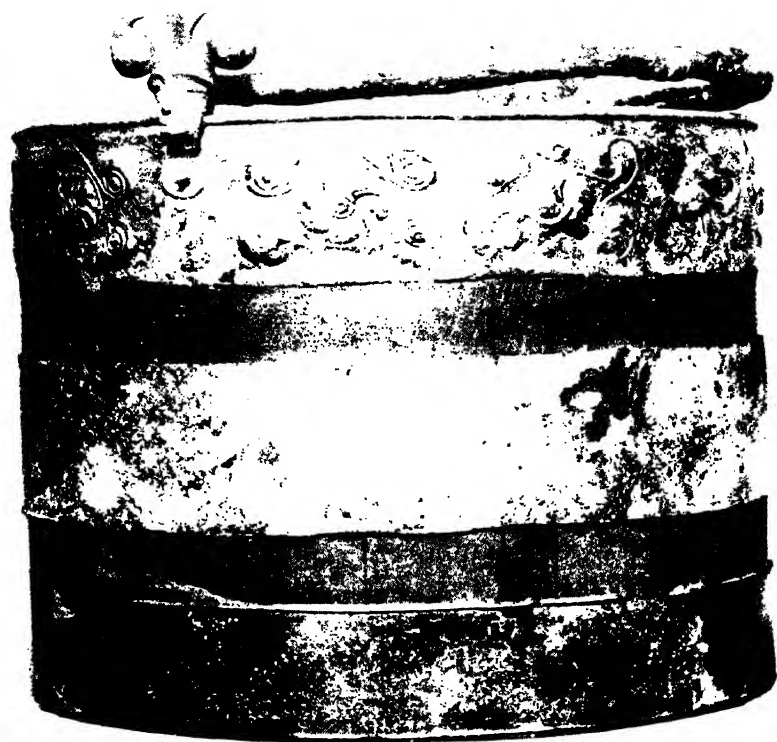


PLATE XIV. THE ANGLESFORD PATE  
*A good example of Late Celtic work*



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the sign of the crusader. One great result of this tour was his *Itinerary* and his *Description of Wales*.

On the death of Henry, Gerald remained in high favour with both Richard and John. He declined the bishoprics of Bangor and Llandaff, choosing to wait until St. David's was once more free for his acceptance. In 1194, tiring, apparently, of the ordinary delights and duties of the court, he retired to Lincoln to study, and joined the theological school of William de Monte.

It was in 1198 that the see of St. David's became vacant once again. The chapter nominated Gerald, among others, and a deputation was sent to consult the king and obtain his consent. Richard was then in Normandy, but before the deputation arrived he was dead. John, however, accepted Gerald's nomination. In his usual faithless manner, as soon as he found that the appointment was inconvenient he refused to acknowledge and ratify publicly the consent thus informally given. Gerald was, however, elected by the chapter of St. David's, an election which was treated as void by Canterbury.

Hence commenced the famous fight for the independence of St. David's. Three times Gerald braved all the hardships and bore the expense of a journey to Rome. He used every weapon in his armoury. He amused the Pope with his wit, delighted him with his learning, won his admiration by his steadfast resolution to fight on against odds however great. He suffered outlawry, and replied by publicly excommunicating all his enemies. At his third visit to Rome (in 1203) he obtained considerable aid from the Pope. The elections which the chapter had made were annulled, and they were commanded to commence *de novo*. The archbishop was also ordered to pay Gerald's costs. Gerald left Rome, however, financially ruined, and would have been imprisoned by his creditors (who had followed him to Bologna) had not one of them declared that he had been warned by a vision not to molest the holy man.

Even now Gerald would not submit. The new election was held and appeared adverse to him. He arrived in time to

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denounce his enemies and upset the nomination. So the struggle continued, until at last Gerald, deserted by all, permitted—for it can hardly be otherwise expressed—the election of the Prior of Llanthony.

The struggle for St. David's had lasted for five years. To it Gerald devoted the best of his energies, and, once ended, Gerald's public life ended also. For the twenty years which elapsed between the election of Prior Geoffrey and Gerald's death he lived the life of a studious and holy man. Having made his peace with his king and the archbishop, he repaired once more to Rome, this time for the benefit of his soul. So many were his pious exertions that he obtained, as Dr. Owen puts it, "indulgence for ninety-two years, which would seem to have left him with a balance in hand."<sup>1</sup> Gerald himself was convinced that he narrowly escaped being made a cardinal. Only once again did his eyes turn to St. David's. On the death of Prior Geoffrey, then Bishop of St. David's, Gerald had hoped that his claims would at last be recognized, but an ungrateful chapter chose instead Iorwerth, Abbot of Talley Abbey.

Gerald's last days were spent peacefully in Wales, perhaps at Manorbier. His death took place in 1223. He was buried at St. David's, and no more fitting spot could be found as a resting-place for his earthly remains. Throughout a life in which he had experienced many of the good things of the world—position, reputation, interesting and highly placed friends (for he was intimately acquainted with all the great men of his time, including Stephen Langton and Ranulph de Glanvill)—he had fought one great fight and met with one great disappointment, and both were connected with St. David's.

As a man Gerald is a perfectly enchanting person. His conceit is so naïve and so harmlessly expressed that it attracts rather than repels. He can tell us of his beauty, his learning, his eloquence, his generosity, without disgusting us. When speaking of his books he shows unbounded confidence in their immortality. He gave Innocent III six volumes of his writings

<sup>1</sup> Which, we may add, he seems to have placed on deposit.

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when he particularly wanted to conciliate him, and could think of no better gift for Archbishop Baldwin than a copy of his own work, the *Topography of Ireland*. The first preface to the *Itinerary* shows the same complacency. After asking, "But among so many species of men, where are to be found divine poets? Where the noble assertors of morals? Where the masters of the Latin tongue? Who in the present times displays lettered eloquence, either in history or poetry?" he makes it tolerably clear that Manorbier had, in his opinion, produced one such, for, addressing his dedicatee, Stephen Langton, he says: "To you, therefore, rare, noble, and illustrious man, on whom nature and art have showered down whatever becomes your supereminent situation, I dedicate my works; but if I fail in this mode of conciliating your favour, and if your prayers and avocations should not allow you sufficient time to read them, I shall consider the honour of letters as vanished, and in hope of its revival I shall inscribe my writings to posterity."

Of his descriptions of the Welsh of his time we have made mention in many parts of this book. It is sufficient here to state that he admired that people much more than the "Saxon serfs," whom he treated as being completely under Norman domination. Wales itself he paints as a beautiful wild country of noble rivers, of mountains, moors, and marshes. Anglesey he regarded as the most fertile part of the land, the mountains of Eryri as yielding the best pasturage, Meirionydd as being the rudest and most barren district.

The people are treated as essentially fighters. Their whole life seems to have been a preparation for, or a devotion to, war. He tells us how a Welshman would deem it a disgrace to die in bed, and how even boys and youths constantly practised such exercises and arts as would fit them for battle. Indeed, war seemed to be more important than its cause. Sometimes the enemy was the Norman, sometimes another Welsh tribe. Sometimes its purpose was to resist aggression, frequently its aim was plunder. Indeed, Gerald regarded the

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Welsh, much as he admired them, as great raiders, and as men whose oath did not bind them.

As to their social arrangements, it is clear that in the twelfth century the Welsh were an uncultivated people. They dined in the rudest manner off large trenchers placed on rushes on the floor. No table or cloth or napkin was used, and the diners ate in messes of three—this number being chosen, according to Gerald, in honour of the Trinity. The mess system of dining was, of course, common also in England at that period, where, however, the usual mess number was two, or, in the case of important families or functions, four (this practice still lives on among barristers, who to-day when dining together form messes of four).

We are told by our author that in Wales no one ever begged, "for the houses of all are common to all." The people were, indeed, exceedingly hospitable, and when guests were present the host and hostess declined all food until the others were satisfied. Frequently they must have denied themselves altogether to feed their friends, for Gerald, though he regards the Welsh as a frugal and temperate people, tells us that *when dining at another's table* after being hungry for days they developed a wolf-like hunger and both ate and drank to excess.

Of their nature Gerald paints a picture from which the modern Welshman could in many cases be recognized. Quick in repartee, witty in conversation, they were subtle and ingenious speakers, bold in speech and fearless of those whom others would deem their superiors. They were beautiful singers, delighting in part-songs, which had "as many different parts as voices." They were religious and superstitious, passionate in nature, vindictive but not jealous. Always proud of their birth, Gerald tells us that "even the common people retain their genealogy, and can not only readily recount the names of their grandfathers and great-grandfathers, but even refer back to the sixth or seventh generation, or beyond them." Their worst fault would seem to have been inconsistency. Altogether a sufficiently pleasing and truthful picture.



PLATE XVII SEATED FIGURE OF A  
GODDESS

*From "Tichu-logia," vol. I, II, by permission of the  
Society of Automates of London*





## CHAPTER XVIII

### LLYWELYN THE GREAT

THE thirteenth was a tragic century for Wales. It saw the rise of one Llywelyn to the position of a virtually independent prince. It saw the fall of another Llywelyn to the position of a humble tenant of the king of England. It saw the break-up of Welsh independence and the merging of the Welsh legal and judicial system into that of England. It is extremely difficult at this period of time to say to what causes the fall should be attributed. In a sense Llywelyn the Great was responsible for the loss of Welsh independence, although during his lifetime the light of his power was never eclipsed. The truth is that the weakness of John, the years of conflict between king, Pope, and barons, enabled Wales well-nigh to free herself from Saxon bonds. This was the work of Llywelyn the Great—a work continued with success during the early, ineffective years of Henry III.

A very wise and clear-sighted man would have hesitated a long while before basing any extensive or definite plan of campaign or aggrandizement upon the temporary troubles of the English royal house or the momentary disruption of the English polity. Not so Llywelyn. He played his life as though Johns were always going to rule in England—unless, indeed, they handed over the crown to infants of weak mind like Henry III. In other words, he appears to have left out of account the possibility of an Edward I. Exactly the same sort of folly was indulged in by Henry V. He attempted to conquer France by taking full advantage of a temporary weakness. The weakness passed, and with it the conquest. The same with Wales. But with Wales the conquest Llywelyn

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aimed at was the rulership of the whole of Wales by the house of Gwynedd. He accomplished it, but by his very success he placed his house and his country in a false position. Gwynedd and her princes had little claim on the men of Powys and Deheubarth. Even had Wales been truly united under one man it was not strong enough, either in the number of its people or the wealth of its resources, to fight openly against England—now become a power of some importance in the world. The position of complete independence once taken up, however, had to be defended. It fell to Llywelyn the Second to defend it. He refused to do homage to Edward for his lands or any of them. He claimed to be Prince of Wales. Such a claim could not be passed by in silence, and had Llywelyn been well advised he would have seen that such a claim could not be supported by force. The result was the loss of Welsh independence; the casting of the country from end to end; the merging of Wales into England. But it is a loss which must not be too readily laid at the door of the second Llywelyn. It was the false position taken up by Llywelyn the Great during years of weakness on the part of England which resulted in the fall.

### LLYWELYN'S RISE TO POWER

The opening years of the thirteenth century were mainly occupied, as we have seen, by the struggle between Maelgwr and Gruffydd, the sons of the Lord Rhys, for the lordship of Deheubarth. Gruffydd was, perhaps, the rightful successor, but in a country which recognized gavelkind as the usual mode of succession it would almost seem as though each son had an equal right. It is clear that the Lord Rhys had marked Gruffydd out for succession, and he appears to have been regarded as the rightful heir. Maelgwn, however, was not content to allow his brother to rule in peace, as we have seen. The result was a temporary weakness of the house of Deheubarth, and enmity between one branch of that house and Gwenwynwyn of Powys, who had espoused Maelgwn's cause.

In the meantime Llywelyn was steadily advancing his



